

**SOUTH AFRICAN BAPTISTS AND FINANCE MATTERS
(1820-1948)**

Volume Two (Chapters 6-10)

MOROKA HUMPHREY MOGASHOA

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By

MOROKA HUMPHREY MOGASHOA

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Supervisor: Professor P. Denis

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Chapter 6

Formation and consolidation of BU and SABMS funds (1894-1927)

The formation of the first fund ever in the Baptist Church of South Africa was not as rapid as the formation of the Baptist Union.¹ But like these two bodies, whose purpose was to aid the fellowship of European Baptists, scattered in the colony, the first fund as is discussed below, was also for the European Baptists, specifically its ministers, in order to aid them when incapacitated. Further, like the Baptist Union (including the 1873 Sustentation Fund), the formation of these funds happened in a context of colonial dispossession. In 1877, the year when the BU was formed, the Baptist Church had already native Christians as members. However, these natives were never made part of the Grahamstown gathering to form the BU and of the subsequent celebrations of its formation. Further, the BU's constitution clearly mentioned that the BU is a union of European churches in the colony.² These very same "Europeans only" sentiments are also noticeable in the objectives of and resolutions pertaining to the following funds. Before we discuss these funds, let us understand, by discussing briefly, the nature of the structuring of economic interests and activities. This discussion provides the basis to understand the primarily descriptive discussion of the many funds in this chapter.

6.1. The structuring of economic interests and activities

By way of borrowing some arguments from Weber's³ monumental work: *The Sociology of Religion*,⁴ this research concurs with Weber's underlying argument that there is a close

¹ See Chapter 2.

² See Chapter 1 for an historical background to this argument.

³ For an interesting biography of Weber, in particular, a succinct discussion of the contribution he made to "economic sociology," see: Spiegel, H. W. (1991). *The Growth of Economic Thought*. Durham: Duke University, pp. 429-431.

⁴ Regarding the title of Weber's work, according to Gorman, Weber observed social conditions in which religion was a factor of such magnitude that no sociological study could proceed without attention to it (See Gorman, G. E. 1986. *The Sociology of Religion: A Biographical Survey*. New York: Greenwood Press, p. 4.). In the same work by Weber, according to McGrath, Weber argues that capitalism existed long before the 16th century Reformation. What grew during the Reformation period, was the "new spirit of capitalism." He referred to this new spirit of capitalism as modern capitalism, which in his opinion, was devoid of hedonism, almost to the point of deliberately avoiding the direct enjoyment of life. In contrast, prior to the Reformation era, was adventurer capitalism. It existed during the medieval period. This form of capitalism was opportunistic and unscrupulous; it tended to consume its capital gains in flamboyant and decadent lifestyles. Modern capitalism,

relation of religious ideas and attitudes to economic activities and organization. Furthermore, in his other work: *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Weber presented "an account of the social, or perhaps better the institutional, structure of systems of economic activity and above all the ranges of variation to which this structure is subject." But, "Weber, unlike many historical and institutional economists, shows a high level of comprehension of the nature of economic theory."⁵ According to him, there are two deep underlying convictions regarding social institutions. The first is the conviction of the fundamental variability of social institutions.⁶ The second, closely related, conviction is that of the inherent instability of social structures.⁷

But Weber does not stop at the structural level. "He goes on to analyse certain points of instability and strain and the corresponding tendencies to the change in the structure – tendencies to transform it in the direction of quite different structural types – with the possibility of extremely far-reaching social and cultural consequences."⁸ In dealing with the modern economy, "Weber takes certain conditions ... for granted."⁹ It is these conditions, and their related other conditions, that are of importance in providing an analysis in this chapter. The first is that, to a high degree, the modern economy is a "rationalized economy" in which its bearers orient their decisions to the rational weighing of utilities and costs in a context of relatively wide scope.¹⁰

however, was rational, possessing a strong ethical basis; it practiced asceticism in respect of the use of material goods. Notwithstanding, Weber noted the perceived tension between the accumulation of capital on the one hand, and the salvation of those who accumulated it on the other. With the rise of ascetic Protestantism, however, a new attitude towards the accumulation of capital developed. Protestantism generated the psychological preconditions essential to the development of modern capitalism. Weber located the fundamental contribution of Calvinism as lying in its generation of psychological impulses on account of its belief systems. He laid special stress on the notion of "calling," which he linked with the Calvinist idea of predestination (See McGrath, A. E. 1990. *A Life of John Calvin*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, pp. 223-224.).

⁵ Henderson, A. M., & Parsons, T. (1947). *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Glencoe: The Free Press, p. 31.

⁶ Ibid. On this point, Henderson and Parson argue: "To [Weber] the institutional system of the modern Western World is not a 'natural order' which had come about by the mere process of removal of obstacles. It represent, in every fundamental respect, only one of several possible lines of social development" (Ibid.).

⁷ Henderson, A. M., & Parsons, T. Op. Cit., p. 32. "For Weber human society, and underlying that, the situation of human actions and the character of humanly possible responses to that situation, are shot through this deep-seated tensions which make the maintenance of any given state of affairs precarious." (Ibid.).

⁸ Henderson, A. M., & Parsons, T. Op. Cit., p. 32.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. See also Chapter 2, wherein this form of economy, which in the South African discourse is: the pound economy, is discussed. The pound economy also served to erode the natives' subsistence economy.

Closely related to the above point is, secondly, the assumption of a “mentality,” a set of attitudes to economic activity, relatively favourable to the functioning of such an economy. This consists, in a very broad sense, according to Henderson and Parson, “in the ‘spirit of capitalism.’”¹¹ In part, this involves a particularly favourable attitude toward, and ethical sanction of, acquisitive activity. Besides that, and in fields other than the acquisitive, “it involves above all rationality – a receptive attitude toward new solutions of problems by contrast with traditionalism – the devotion to a task for its own sake without ulterior motives – what Weber calls the attitude of a ‘calling’ – and readiness to fit into functionally specialized roles and be governed by universalistic standards.”¹²

Thirdly, there is the existence of a political organization and legal order of a particular type, namely the modern rational-legal state and a universalistic impartial legal system. In the South African discourse, this “political sociology”¹³ manifested itself in the form of the Europeans’ governance of the country, about which they constantly maintained that the natives prior to European presence in South Africa had no form of government.¹⁴ And the European South African Baptists bought into this hegemony.¹⁵

Lastly, there is the relative weakness, in the Western world, of such social ties as would seriously interfere with the mobility of resources (including humans), which is essential to our economy. Humans in particular, “do not admit either of personally following out openings for occupational or economic opportunity, or of being treated, under pressure of circumstances or of authority, as an ‘instrument’ of such goals by others.”¹⁶

¹¹ Henderson, A. M., & Parsons, T. *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 33. McGrath, in discussing the connection between the Calvinist work ethic and capitalism, wrote regarding the notion of calling: “By active involvement in the affairs of the world, subject to the guidance of scripture, the believer could clinch his or her calling, and gain peace of mind (always a prized and elusive commodity within Puritan circles) concerning his or her election. The notion of calling (*vocatio*) must be interpreted in this light: the imperative to perform good works is not necessarily linked with a specific worldly vocation (for example, to be a butcher, a baker, or a candlestick-maker), but with the need to demonstrate one’s divine calling to oneself and the world at large.” (See McGrath, A. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 242.).

¹³ The concept is borrowed from Henderson and Parsons’ work.

¹⁴ See Chapters 5, 8, 9 and the Epilogue.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Henderson, A. M., & Parsons, T. *Op. Cit.*, p. 33.

Using these assumed conditions, Weber centres his explicit analysis primarily upon two interdependent strategic sectors of the social structure of the modern economy. Firstly, those impinging on the use of money and the structure of markets and the relation of economic units to them. Secondly, those connected with the relations of "appropriation," that is of property.

Pertaining to the first, Weber "attributes enormous significance to the role of money."¹⁷ There are, in his treatment, three primary aspects of this importance. In the first place, "[money] obviously makes possible an enormous extension of the range of possible exchange relationships in that any particular transaction need involve only purchase of a good, service, or other economic advantage with money or its sale for money."¹⁸ In other words, this economic system can develop only in direct proportion to the extension of the area of possible money transactions.

Secondly, however, money not only facilitates exchange generally, "but it in proportion even more strongly facilitates the 'acquisitive' orientation of economic activity."¹⁹ For without it acquisitive orientation is limited either to the things the actor desires for his own consumption, or for which he can secure a taker through barter exchange. The increase of monetary resources as an immediate goal of acquisitive activity, introduces a different factor to the situation. That is, money can become a measure of the success of acquisitive activity and a symbol of prestige.²⁰

Third and last, "the use of money has the extremely important consequence of introducing, in the qualitative heterogeneity of concrete, economically significant goods, services, and other advantages, a common denominator which makes it possible to compare them systematically and measure their economic significance."²¹ Henderson and Parsons add, "Above all [money] is a numerically quantitative common denominator, so that economic activity can

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. "Exchange in kind, because of the necessity of finding a direct user or supplier of the specific utility offered or desired is inherently extremely limited in scope." (Ibid., p. 34.).

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 34.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

become in general oriented to arithmetical calculation.”²² This possibility enormously broadens the scope of rational planning in economic connexions. “A budget need no longer consist alone in the allocation of concrete resources, but can be based on a single money income.”²³ Further, “The varied activity and interests of a profit-making enterprise can be oriented to the single criterion of successful operation, the money balance of profit and loss during accounting periods.”²⁴

With the above discussion as a necessary background regarding the “culture” of money, it is important to touch briefly on the “property system,” which Weber also refers to as “conditions of appropriation.”²⁵ Weber treats appropriation as an aspect of the “closure” of a social relationship. That is, the exclusion of individuals from it, or their admission only upon specific conditions. A relationship is, on the other hand, “open” when it is accessible to any individual who wishes to participate and who is factually in a position to do so.²⁶

One primary aspect of the closure of relationships in turn is the monopolization of “advantages” (*Chancen*), that is of anything which is valued. Monopolization, however, is meaningless unless the advantages in question are in some degree transferable, that is can constitute “possessions,” the enjoyment of which might be given over to or appropriated by another. Such monopolized advantages may be freely accessible to the participants in the closed relationship, they may be made accessible subject to various forms of regulation or rationing and, finally they may be “appropriated” by the participants, as individuals or as members of a participating unit.²⁷

As Weber treats it, a social relationship is closed by virtue of the content of an “order” to which the corresponding action is held subject, in the most important cases a legitimate order. The specific feature of appropriation, as opposed to the other modes of access to advantages, is that, according to the binding order, the individual (or other unit) has “rights”

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

of access which other members and the governing authority of the closed group must respect, so that rights thus recognized cannot be interfered with except under definite conditions.

Over and above that which is being appropriated, it is not, according to Weber, the concrete object, the “thing” as such, tangible or intangible, which is the basis of the desire to appropriate, but the “use” to which it can be put. Correspondingly, it is not the “things” which are appropriated, “but [the] *rights in* them.”²⁸ Therefore, in the South African Baptist discourse, the pound economy with its: forms of appropriation, the monopolization of advantages, the extent to which the *tangible and intangible* can be used, and the *rights in* them, served to provide a beneficial enclosure for Europeans. Moreover, with the establishment of funds, such as the Pension Fund, for example, in the Baptist Church of South Africa, specifically for the benefit of European workers, the same enclosure as in the civil sphere was also realized in the church. It is not merely that these funds were established; but it is the purposes, conditions of admission into these funds, the related uses that the capital from these funds could be put to, and the “rights in” these funds, that ought to be constantly assessed during the following discussion these following funds.

6.2. Funds for European ministers and their wives

6.2.1. Formation of the Annuity and Insurance Fund (1894-1910)

The Annuity Fund is the first fund of many formed for the care of European ministers (including missionaries) and their wives. During the BU Assembly in 1894, Rev H. Gutsche proposed, seconded by Rev H. J. Batts, that “a fund be started as an Annuity Fund for invalid ministers and widows.”²⁹ The same assembly resolved that “a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Grocott, Gutsche, Neal, and Nuttall, report on the same at the next Assembly.”³⁰ As the occasion captured the mood, it was further resolved that “the Rev L. Nuttall be requested to ascertain if the ministers of the South African Baptist Union can become members of the Baptist Annuity Funds at Home [Britain].”³¹ Reporting for the 1895 BU Assembly concerning the 1894 BU Assembly, the appointed Annuity Fund Committee reported that:

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 34.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

"The Rev E. P. Riemer donated a sum of £6.2s.6d. as a nucleus of this fund, whereupon a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded Bro. Riemer for his generous gift."³² In the same minutes, under the "Chronicles of the Churches," Mr N. G. F. Meier, deacon of Berlin German Church, is recorded to have reported that "since the failing health of Pastor E. P. Riemer, this Church has been without an earthly shepherd."³³ Ultimately, during the BU Assembly of 1896, the members appointed for the purpose submitted a report and a constitution pertaining to this fund. The proposed Constitution having been discussed seriatim, it was adopted as the "South African Baptist Minister's Annuity Fund" with the following objectives:

- (a) To aid members when incapacitated for work.
- (b) To aid deceased member's widows or families if possible.
- (c) Membership should be composed of all ministerial members of the Union who pay the subscription.
- (d) Should any member discontinue his subscription for two years in succession or leave the Denomination he ceases to be a member, but is entitled to receive a third of the amount he has paid.
- (e) Rate of Subscription be £2 2s. per annum.
- (f) *Benefits* (i) For first five years no disbursements to be made.
- (ii) Amount granted to depend on the sum subscribed. (iii) In case of member dying without having received any annuity a sum of £10 be paid for funeral expenses.
- (g) Infirm and aged members recipient of the fund cease to subscribe, as also after forty years' subscription.
- (h) A member is considered disabled for active work when by age, sickness or infirmity he is unable to earn £80 per annum.
- (i) If a member is under fifty and in the judgement of the Executive of this Fund well able to obtain a living in an honourable and honest calling, then he shall not receive the full amount to which he would be otherwise entitled, but not less than half.
- (j) After sixty-five years the invalidity is not to be proven.³⁴

³² Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 28.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁴ BU Minutes of 1896 in BU Handbook for 1896-1897, pp. 18-19. See Volume Three (Appendices) the document entitled: The Annuity Fund of 1896.

Reading these objectives, it is clear that the fund is for annuity (retirement) purposes to aid the incapacitated minister or to aid the widow or family of the deceased member. But more striking about the fund is that membership explicitly constituted of ministerial members of the Baptist Union. In other words, native workers under the SABMS who, at this time they were not recognized as ministers, could not become members of the fund. Furthermore, even supposing they could acquire ministerial recognition, they would not be allowed membership into this fund since the BU was meant to be a "union" of European churches.³⁵ Lastly, and very peculiar – given the remuneration of native workers discussed earlier on³⁶ – the Fund stipulates that a member is considered disabled for active work when "by age, sickness or infirmity he is unable to earn £80 per annum."³⁷ In fact, since the inception of the SABMS in 1892, no native worker had ever earned more than £80 per annum, not even as late as 1927, the year when the Bantu Baptist Church was formed.

The following year, 1897, during the BU Assembly, a temporary committee consisting of Revs D. H. Hay and H. Gutsche, and Messrs J. Baverstock and A. William, was elected to act with the Annuity Committee to consider the amendment suggested by Rev L. Nuttall. The Assembly resolved that the constitution, as amended, be handed back to the Annuity Fund Committee,³⁸ "to place before a legal adviser to put into legal form, and that they be empowered to act in the manner forthwith."³⁹ The amendment read: "That no proposal for change in the constitution shall be entertained until after one year's notice, given in writing at the Annual Assembly, and published as the Assembly shall direct; but that a majority of a two-thirds be necessary for any alteration."⁴⁰ Riemer, the German pastor, further contributed towards the fund.

Although the objectives of the fund were favourable for the European ministers, the actual founding of the fund was difficult, to the extent that "a report by the secretary was

³⁵ See Chapter 1.

³⁶ See Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

³⁷ Minutes of 1896 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1896-1897, p. 19.

³⁸ Officers of the Committee for 1897-1898 consisted of Revs E. P. Riemer, L. Nuttall, E. Baker, J. Russell and Messrs A. Williams, J. Brodie and N. Janisch. (Minutes of 1897 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1897-1898, p. 4.).

³⁹ Minutes of 1897 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1897-1898, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

discouraging and concluded with a suggestion 'that the time is not yet ripe for the formation of the Annuity Fund.'⁴¹ But after discussion of the report, it was moved and carried by the Assembly of 1898 that "the whole question of the formation of the annuity fund be referred back to the Committee, and that they be instructed to make further representations to the brethren on the subject, and also to propose an alternative scheme of a benevolent society for the voluntary aid of aged and infirm ministers."⁴² The following year, also during the Assembly, the report of the Committee recommended the abandonment of the scheme and the formation in its place of a Ministers' Relief Fund. But Mr T. B. King "objected and offered £50 to start the Fund, with the suggestion of obtaining additional help from a share in the Twentieth Century Fund [in England]."⁴³ This was gratefully accepted and it was heartily resolved to proceed with the establishment of the fund; and a new committee was elected.

In addition, the same assembly passed the following resolutions. Firstly, that "in the Rule 6 of the Baptist Annuity Fund, the words '£1 per annum' be substituted for '15/- per quarter,' and '10/- extra for each year above 28 years of age' for '1 extra.'"⁴⁴ Secondly, that "it be in the instruction to the Annuity Committee to inquire into the subject of purchasing Government Annuities for our Ministers: this to be seen to in the event of the Annuity Fund not being continued."⁴⁵ Lastly, that "before any more members are accepted as 'benefiting members' of the Annuity Fund, the whole question of payments be considered by the new Committee."⁴⁶

In 1902, two years after the founding of the fund, the fund's income had a substantial amount of £79.14s.6d. with no expenditure.⁴⁷ The steady increase of funds raised the expectations of the Baptist Union concerning this fund to the extent that the Twenty Fifth Annual Assembly of the BU of South Africa, held at Johannesburg, October 15th – 21st, 1903, resolved "to aim at the sum of £1000 as a basis, and the Churches be asked to contribute towards the Fund by setting aside the Communion offertory on the first Sunday in June annually or by collection

⁴¹ Minutes of 1898 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1898-1899, p. 50.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Minutes of 1899 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 57.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 58.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Minutes of 1902 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 150.

at one of the Sunday services.”⁴⁸ Furthermore, that “the Annuity Fund Committee prepare a scheme for working the Fund on the above basis.”⁴⁹ To mark the first step towards using the Communion offertory for the fund, the BU Executive invited the churches present at the assembly to contribute towards the Assembly’s Communion collection to the Annuity Fund. Fourteen churches present responded with a total of £30.⁵⁰

In addition to the Communion offertory, the BU resolved during its 1904 Assembly that, “2.5 per cent of the total income of the [Baptist] Union be devoted to the Annuity Fund, provided the grants voted were duly met.”⁵¹ But the following year, 1905, a major overhaul of the fund took place and this resulted in a new name: Baptist Union Annuity and Insurance Fund. Before looking at the objectives of this new scheme, it is important to highlight the fact that unlike the previous Annuity Fund, the new fund explicitly made mention that it also covered SABMS missionaries, who were of course, European. One of its objectives reads: “To ensure that every Minister-in-charge and Missionary shall have his life insured for at least £250.”⁵² Furthermore, in terms of the fund’s income, among other sources, there was also a “one per cent [contribution from] the ... [SAB] Missionary revenue of each year.”⁵³ The objectives of the new scheme were as follows:

- (a) The accumulation of £1,000 as a nucleus for an Annuity Fund.
- (b) To ensure that every Minister-in-charge and Missionary shall have his life insured for at least £250.
- (c) To assist in paying the annual premiums on Minister’s and Missionaries’ life policies.
- (d) To create an Emergency Fund under the control of the Executive to be applied to special cases of sickness or death.⁵⁴

The following year, 1907, the fund’s portfolio was doing so well that Rev Hall, during the BU Assembly, while presenting the first report of this fund under the new name,

⁴⁸ Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 16.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 32.

⁵¹ Minutes of 1904 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 39.

⁵² Minutes of 1905 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 66.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Minutes of 1906 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, pp. 72-73. See also Volume Three (Appendices) the document entitled: Annuity and Insurance Fund of 1906.

recommended “a distribution of £13s.3d. in aid of premiums to each Minister insured for £250. [The motion was adopted.]”⁵⁵ But in 1909, another fund was proposed, specifically including the word “pension” in its name. It was then called Annuity or Old Age Pension Fund. The motion, moved by Rev G. W. Cross and seconded by Mr J. W. Varder read: “That a scheme be prepared for an annuity or old age pension for aged Ministers which shall be obligatory and contributory, and the same be commended to all Ministers, Missionaries, Churches and Mission Station within the [Baptist] Union with view to the immediate acceptance of such a scheme.”⁵⁶ Interestingly, at this assembly appeared for the first time the treasurer’s statement of Annuity and Insurance Fund. It is clear, according to the statement, that contributions came from varied sources. That is, from interest accrued from the South African Baptist Magazine and from the Union Fund; personal donations, for example from Mr Biggs – magistrate of Bizana; and contributions from churches.

There is no doubt that the fund, which started as Gutsche’s proposal, and which also had as its first contributor another German minister, Rev E. P. Riemer, was given a boost by Mr T. B. King’s £50 initial contribution as the Annuity Fund was gaining ground. Two more laymen, during the 1909 BU Assembly, made an offer that “when a sum of £1,000 had been raised by the Churches and Ministers, they would contribute £250 each, and when another £1,000 had been raised they would contribute another £250 to the Annuity Fund.”⁵⁷ This commitment by the anonymous laymen, made on their behalf by Mr F. Sheppard, was made after the assembly declared that “a serious effort should be made forthwith to provide an adequate fund to be used as a retiring or Old Age Pension Fund for Baptist Ministers and Missionaries in South Africa and that a Committee be formed forthwith with power to act, the sum of £3,000 to be aimed at within five years.”⁵⁸ To begin raising this amount, the fund issued more loans to churches. For example, £50 to Rochelle for its stands and £50 to the Lambert Road Church. In addition, the *South African Baptist Magazine* was also loaned

⁵⁵ Minutes of 1907 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1906-1907*, p. 26.

⁵⁶ Minutes of 1909 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1908-1909*, p. 23. At this Assembly, the following were elected as Annuity and Insurance Executive: Rev A. Hall as secretary and Mr H. Schmidt as the treasurer. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.).

⁵⁷ Minutes of 1910 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1910-1911*, p. 25.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

some funds.⁵⁹ While it issued loans, for the first time in the fund's financial statement there is also a record of £17.10s.4d. as the Emergency Reserve Fund for the period 1906 to 1907.⁶⁰

Briefly, the Emergency Fund, was started in 1892 (the same year as the founding of the SABMS), stemming from "a small sum of money raised for the bereaved family [of the late Mr Charles Bush], more than sufficient to carry them in comfort to their friends in the Old Country [England]."⁶¹ This Mr Bush was "only [at the] last Assembly ... recognized as an Evangelist, and encouraged to prepare himself for further work."⁶² It was through the "kind assistance of the Rev L. Nuttall and other friends"⁶³ that this sum of money was raised. Unlike other funds, this fund had no consistent yearly report, possibly an indication that it was, as the name suggests, for emergencies. It was only in 1909 that, in the Treasurer's Statement of Annuity and Insurance Fund that there appeared an expenditure record of £17.10s.4d. under the Emergency Reserve Fund for 1906 to 1907.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the fund received additional funds through one-fifth of the Annuity Fund for 1907 to 1908 (£8.10s.9d.) and for 1908 to 1909 (£8.19s.7d.), respectively. In addition to these amounts, the fund had by 1st October 1909, loaned £24.4s.11d. to the Baptist Union Funds. Therefore, out of its total receipts of £41.15s.3d., the fund had loaned the Baptist Union Funds £35.17s.11d. and remained with a cash balance of £5.17s.4d..⁶⁵

During the 1911 BU Assembly, when a resolution was passed that the Annuity Fund be merged with the Pension Fund except for the Emergency Fund (see below), a resolution pertaining solely to the Emergency Fund was also passed. It read: "That the present Emergency Fund be continued as a separate Fund by the Committee of Management of the [Baptist] Union Pension Fund and be used by them confidentially to aid Ministers or

⁵⁹ Treasurer's Statement of Annuity and Insurance Fund Receipts and Expenditure, 1st October 1908 to 30th September, 1909, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 34.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Report of the BU Executive to the 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 45.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ [Baptist Union] Treasurer's Statement of Annuity and Insurance Fund Receipts and Expenditure, 1st October, 1908, to 30th September, 1909, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 34.

⁶⁵ Emergency Reserve Fund Statement of Receipts and Expenditure as at 31st October, 1909, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 35.

Churches who, in their opinion, are absolutely in need of such assistance.”⁶⁶ Following on this resolution, the Missionary Session of the same assembly resolved that “the income of the Missionary Society shall be subject to a toll of 1 per cent, which shall be paid into the Union Emergency Fund, and that the Fund shall be responsible for £5 per annum on behalf of the Pension for each of the three Lady Missionaries.”⁶⁷ This in other words meant, that the European lady missionaries were separately insured from their male counterparts. Also pertaining to this 1% toll, in 1912 it was resolved that “an annual charge of one per cent (1%) on the income of the Union be made for the [Emergency] Fund.”⁶⁸

Regarding the discussion of the Pension Fund, the fund’s Executive proposed to the 1911 BU Assembly that “we are strongly of the opinion that a percentage basis of payments on Ministers’ stipends should be fixed, instead of a fixed contribution from each Church and Minister.”⁶⁹ This assembly, like other previous assemblies, witnessed another overhaul of the Fund. But this time, the changes made were to have a lasting impact on the pension and related financial assistance available to European ministers and missionaries in the Baptist Church of South Africa. Four important resolutions effected this change:

Firstly, that a time of grace be granted to the 31st of January, 1911, for the payment of contributions to the Pension Fund, and that any Church or Minister joining by that date and paying the contribution due for the six months ending 31st of March, 1911, should be deemed to have joined the Fund at its inauguration. Secondly, that it should be understood that any Minister or Missionary leaving the country and not retiring from the Fund should be considered to remain a member provided he continued to pay the total premium due. Thirdly, the Annuity Fund, except the Emergency Fund, be merged in the Baptist Union Pension Fund, and that until the balance be handed over to the Pension Committee the Baptist Union be charged with 5 per cent. interest, which should be paid to the Pension Fund. Lastly, as seen above, the present Emergency Fund be continued as a separate fund by the Committee

⁶⁶ Minutes of 1911 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 27.

⁶⁷ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1911 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 35.

⁶⁸ Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 24.

⁶⁹ Minutes of 1911 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 8.

of Management of the Union Pension Fund.⁷⁰ This meant that the Emergency Fund was to become a separate fund from the Pension Fund; prior to this assembly, it had been a fund within a fund.

With regard to the administration of the Fund, in the case of a decease or vacancy in the Trusteeship, the Executive of the Union would fill the vacancy. The same rule applied to filling the portfolios in the management committee of the Fund. It was further resolved that the Pretoria Branch of the Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd., be authorised and requested to pay all cheques purporting to be drawn on behalf of the Pension Fund, when signed by the Chairman and countersigned by the Treasurer for the time being of the Annuity Fund.⁷¹

6.2.2. Growth and control of the B.U. Pension Fund

6.2.2.1. Change of Annuity Fund to Pension Fund

As indicated above, the Annuity Fund was merged with the Pension Fund except that the Emergency Fund was retained in order to confidentially aid ministers. Under the new structure, “the treasurer and secretary of the [new] Pension fund ... [became] ex officio members of the [BU] Executive.”⁷² With the formation of this new Pension Fund, confidential assistance to ministers was not discontinued. Instead, the same assembly (1911) resolved, “that 1 per cent of [SABMS] Mission Funds be handed over to the Emergency Reserve Fund.”⁷³ During the Missionary Session of the same assembly, the same resolution was affirmed. Furthermore, it was resolved that Emergency Funds “shall be responsible for £5 per annum on behalf of the Pension for each of the three Lady Missionaries.”⁷⁴ Accompanying this resolution was the another that read: “That the Society become responsible for the amount due to the Missionary Churches on the condition that the Missionaries endeavour to raise an additional £5 from their Churches for this purpose.”⁷⁵ Prior to the approval of these resolutions in the assembly, the executive of the SABMS in its *Annual Report for 1909-1910* had argued:

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 26.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., p. 29.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly of 1910, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 34.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

The close relation between the [Baptist] Union and the Missionary Society is often being emphasised, and it is good that the latter is only part of the former. In regard to the Pension Fund, this close relation is now before us. The relation of the Missionary to the Society is similar to the relation of the Minister to his Church and the matter will be brought before the Assembly as to whether this should not apply in regard to the amount which is to be contributed, in addition to the Minister's or Missionary's contribution to the Pension Fund.⁷⁶

In the same year, in the BU statement of receipts and expenditure for 1st October 1910 to 30th September 1911 an expenditure of £100 was recorded, the largest ever since the inception of the fund.⁷⁷ This could be an indication that the fund was on a sound and growing financial footing. In the memorial of Mr T. H. Grocott,⁷⁸ there appears another side to the history of the Pension Fund. According to the BU executive, speaking "of the later matters only in which he helped our cause: His [Grocott's] generosity, with Mr Sheppard's, enabled us to start the Pension Fund, and as soon as that enterprise was well launched he was eager to promote and assist generously the 100,000 Shillings Fund."⁷⁹ This Shillings Fund, as will later be observed, was not as old as the Pension Fund but it was only formed when the Annuity was merged with the Pension Fund in 1911. Concerning the trustees of the Pension Fund, the same assembly resolved that "Mr J. B. Byrnes be appointed *vice* [in the place of] the late Mr T. H. Grocott."⁸⁰ As for the Pension Fund Committee, it was resolved that "Mr D. W. Rossiter ... [be] appointed *vice* [in the place of] Mr R. A. Eales [who had] resigned."⁸¹ Lastly, a notice of motion to alter the Constitution of the Pension Fund, moved by Rev G. W. Cross, read: "That clause A (a) and (b) be altered by the substitution of 30 for 35 [years of age] and that the necessary readjustment of the sale of payments for entrants over 30 be made."⁸²

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁷⁷ BU Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for 1st October 1910 to 30th September 1911, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 27.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 2.

⁷⁹ Report of the BU Executive from 1st October 1911 to 30th September 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁰ Minutes of 1913 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 23.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

In 1912, for the first time since the founding of the fund, a more detailed report on the fund was compiled and presented to the 1913 BU Assembly. This report was divided into sections dealing with: appointments, membership, contributions, donations, interest, expenditure, church loans, investments, reports and new appointments.⁸³ As with the report, the fund's financial statement for this period: 1st October 1911 to 30th September 1912, was the most detailed ever. According to this report, the balance carried forward from 1910 was £1,299.17s.6d. Contributions for the period under discussion included: ministers' (£151.10s.) and churches' contributions (£170). Other forms of income were: donations (£394.13s.6d.), interest (£84.5s.1d.) and other unnamed receipts (£14.6s.). The total income was £2,101.0s.7d. Expenditure wise, the fund's only expenses were administration charges, printing and stationery amounting to a total of £2.15s.6d. As at 30th September 1912, the fund's liabilities and assets balance sheet indicated a healthy financial state of the fund.⁸⁴ The total amount of liabilities was £103.6s.9d. This amount consisted of ministers' contributions (£40.1s.6d.) made in advance; churches' contributions (£32.10d.) also made in advance; contributions' refundable (£15) and the Emergency Fund (£15.15s.3d.). Regarding assets, the Fund had a number of investments made, particularly, in white churches. That is, £400 on the Claremont Church loan, £500 on the Troyeville Church Loan, £800 as fixed deposit in the United Building Society, ten shares in the United Building Society to the value of £25.11s.3d. From the fixed deposit, the dividend gained was £61.18s.3d. The fund redeemed £251.4s.7d. from the Baptist Union. The cash invested was £161.13s. with the United Building Society Savings Bank, £3.19s. with the Post Office Savings Bank and £42.5s.9d. with the Standard Bank. As for sundry debtors, they amounted to £2.10s. ministers' and £2.10 churches' contributions, respectively. Therefore, in total, the fund had assets to the value of £2,201.11s.10d.⁸⁵

Following on the major report to the assembly for the year 1912, during the BU Assembly of 1913, Rev. J. F. Niebuhr moved the motion that: "A surrender value of all the contributions made by or on behalf of any Minister or Missionary (but not on the contributions made by or

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-55.

⁸⁴ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year, 1st October, 1911, to 30th September, 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, pp. 56-57.

⁸⁵ Baptist Union Pension Fund Balance Sheet as at 30th September, 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, pp. 58-59.

on behalf of his Church or Station) shall be paid to any contributor who may for any reason (other than removal from the ministry) desire to withdraw from the institution, or to his widow or dependants in case of his death previous to attaining the pensionable age.”⁸⁶ Another motion, this time moved by Rev G. W. Cross, proposed to “amend the Constitution so as to make the entrance at flat rates 30 years of age and to adjust scale of pension and breakdown and retiring allowance in accordance.”⁸⁷ As was with the previous year, the fund’s investments in 1913, some of which were loans to the churches, were clearly an indication of its healthy financial position. This healthy state was retained in subsequent years.⁸⁸ One other church, for example, to benefit from the fund’s capital investments was the Roodepoort Church. It needed £125. Given that the Baptist Union’s Building Fund overdraft at the bank stood at £551 in February 1913, the BU Executive on behalf of this church applied “from the Pension Fund for a part of the amount due.”⁸⁹

As indicated earlier, the fund continued from one healthy financial position to the next. By 30th September 1918, the fund had assets to the value of £7,330.19s.11d. These assets were: investments (£6,727.6s.); cash (£557.3s.11d.) saved at United Building Society (£321.16s.4d), P.O. Savings Bank (£10.1s.5d.) and at Standard Bank (£225.6s.2d.); sundry debtors (£46.10s) were £39 as accrued interest and £7.10s. as arrear contributions; lastly there was £5 from an unnamed church and £2.10s. from unnamed ministers.⁹⁰ Interestingly and surprisingly, during the 1919 BU Assembly, there appears for the first time, a mention of the role that women, in particular white women, played in the growth of this fund. According to the minutes of this assembly, after the Secretary-Treasurer, Mr T. Riemer, presented the

⁸⁶ Minutes of 1913 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, pp. 23-24.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 24. By this Assembly, the fund’s total revenue had increased to the value of £3,191.1s.11d. (Ibid., p. 46.). Furthermore, its assets had also increased to the value of £3,257.10s.2d. (Ibid., p. 49.).

⁸⁸ In the financial period of 1st October, 1914, to 30th September, 1915, the fund’s revenue was £4,723.9s.3d. and assets were to the value of £4,770.19s.3d. (Minutes of 1915 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, pp. 46-49.). Secondly, in the financial period for 1st October, 1915 to 30th September, 1916, there is no statement of the fund’s revenue and expenditure. Only the balance sheet as at 30th September, 1916, records the liabilities amounting to £98.12s.6d. while the assets amounted to £5,936.16s.2d. (Baptist Union Pension Fund Balance Sheet as at 30th September, 1916, in BU Handbook for 1915-1916, pp. 42-43). Lastly, with the previous year, only the balance sheet is presented. According to the Baptist Union Pension Fund Balance Sheet as at 30th September, 1917 (in BU Handbook for 1916-1917, p. 45), liabilities amounted to £130.17s.6d. while assets were to the value of £6,614.8s.3d.

⁸⁹ Report of the Executive from 1st October, 1914, to date, 1915: To the 36th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 7.

⁹⁰ Baptist Union Pension Fund Balance Sheet as at 30th September, 1918, in BU Handbook for 1917-1919, p. 47.

Annual Report of the fund ending 30th September, 1919, which was unanimously adopted, a “special vote of thanks to the ladies for their work in connection with the Pension Fund, and a hearty vote of thanks to Mr Riemer for his valuable services were both carried with acclamation.”⁹¹ Prior to this special vote of thanks, the Baptist Women’s Association, in its annual report to this assembly, had reported: “The Pension Fund is very nearly completed, and the Missionary Fund has never been more enthusiastically supported.”⁹² Moreover, also for the first time in the history of the Pension Fund, “[Ministers] wives’ contributions (£48)”⁹³ are separately indicated. Furthermore, there is also the “Donations Widows Scheme (£560)”⁹⁴ which is also separately indicated.

But during the same assembly, there were a number of notices of motion to revise the Constitution of the BU, particularly “with a view to incorporating the proposals to be submitted to the Churches and discussed at the next Assembly on Ministerial Settlement.”⁹⁵ Among the list of these motions, one was related to the Pension Fund. It read: “That the Committee of the Pension Fund be instructed to prepare proposals for dealing with the cases of Ministers who have ceased to serve the denomination.”⁹⁶

As earlier discussed, the targeted amount for the formation of the Pension Fund in 1909 was £300. In 1921, during the Assembly, it was resolved: “That we pledge ourselves to support the President [Rev H. J. Batts] in his endeavour to raise the £1,000 still needed to complete the Pension Fund.”⁹⁷ As at 30th September, 1920, the fund’s balance sheet reflected £10,402.10s.7d. as the value of its assets.⁹⁸ Like the previous year, the statement of revenue and expenditure for the year 1st October 1919 to 30th September 1920 reflected “Wives’

⁹¹ Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 23-24.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹³ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year 1st October, 1918, to 30th September, 1919, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 46.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 29.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30. Among these motions, there was also one that read: “That any member of the [Baptist] Union accepting the office of Minister in a Church outside of our denomination shall forfeit his membership.” (*Ibid.*, p. 29.).

⁹⁷ Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 30. The same Assembly passed a hearty vote of thanks to the Auditors, Messrs S. Haslop and F. W. Hutchinson of Port Elizabeth for their work. (*Ibid.*).

⁹⁸ Baptist Union Pension Fund Balance Sheet as at 30th September, 1920, in BU Handbook for 1921-1922, p. 59.

contributions (£94.10s)⁹⁹ and “Donations [into] the Widows’ Scheme (£487.0s.4d.).”¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the BU Executive in its report reported that the “response to the President’s appeal for the completion of the Pension Fund has met with gratifying success and as a result a further sum of only £335 is required to achieve this object. Towards this success the work of the BWA has contributed very largely, for which we would record our grateful appreciation.”¹⁰¹ Consequently, the fund’s balance sheet as at 30th June 1922 was a total of £12,339.10s.6d. This was a great achievement during this period, during and after the First World War, given that other funds suffered severely.¹⁰² The reason for the Pension Fund’s success could have been that it directly benefited the contributors, unlike other funds which were meant for the administrative and general investments of the Baptist Union.

This amount was spread as follows: investments (£10,317.10s), cash being £1,778.15s.4d. at various banks, interest in suspense (£189.12s.) and arrears in contributions (£53.13s.2d.).¹⁰³ In total, at the time of the BU Assembly in 1924, the Fund’s report “showed a membership of 25 Ministers, 29 Churches, and 25 Ministers’ Wives. ... Three members and three members wives are now beneficiaries of the Fund.”¹⁰⁴ At the opening of the Assembly, “only £94.10s.3d. was required in donations to complete the fund and this desirable end was accomplished during the Assembly.”¹⁰⁵ Resolutions were passed “recording special thanks to Mrs Blackwell and the Rev H. J. Batts for their work in connection with this.”¹⁰⁶ As at 30th June 1924, the fund’s total assets amounted to £14,090.2s.7d. That is, investments were valued at £13,121.18s.1d., cash was £741.3s.8d. deposited with the various banks, interest accrued and not payable was £217.0s.10d. and arrear contributions came to £10.¹⁰⁷ Finally, the BU Executive in its report to the 1925 BU Assembly observed:

⁹⁹ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year 1st October, 1919 to 30th September, 1920, in BU Handbook for 1921-1922, p. 58.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ BU Executive Report to the 42nd Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 13.

¹⁰² See later discussion.

¹⁰³ Baptist Union Pension Fund Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1922, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 53.

¹⁰⁴ Minutes of 1924 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 26.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Baptist Union Pension Fund as at 30th June, 1924, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 55.

The completion of the Fund at last Assembly is an achievement that deserves more than cursory mention. Looked upon at first by many as being [a] too ambitious, if not altogether impossible scheme, we owe its inception to the vision, courage, and persistent effort of the Rev G. W. Cross, whose name will always be gratefully associated with the Fund, and to the capable Secretary-Treasurer, Mr Riemer, who so loyally backed Mr Cross's efforts from the start. ... Towards this success we must not forget to record the handsomely generous gifts with which our brethren the late Mr T. H. Grocott of Grahamstown, and Mr Frank Sheppard of Seymour, who we are glad is still spared to us, inaugurated the Fund. Having accomplished what was aimed at in starting the Fund, the Secretary is anxious to guard against the idea that nothing further is required by it, and he still hopes to receive the special gifts towards the maintenance of the Fund.¹⁰⁸

Given that the fund had reached its target figure, the conditions of admission, which were of course for white ministers only, were beginning to be relaxed. For a start, the same assembly, resolved: "That this Assembly heard with pleasure that the Pension Fund Committee is considering the possibility of making it easier for Ministers of mature age to enter the Pension Fund, and it hopes that this will be carried into effect as far as may be possible."¹⁰⁹ Without delay, Mr Riemer presented the report of the Pension Fund at the 1926 BU Assembly, and with it submitted recommendations from the Committee "with a view to meeting the deficiency in the Fund as shown by the Actuaries' Report [and] to make it easier for Ministers of mature age to join the Fund."¹¹⁰ Finally, "after [a] very full discussion the report and the Committee's recommendations were adopted."¹¹¹ The assembly passed a resolution to this effect, namely that "members of the Baptist Union Pension Fund hereby gratefully accept the offer of a 20% share in the proposed Insurance scheme of the S. A. Baptist Missionary Society in addition to the plan already accepted."¹¹² This, in no

¹⁰⁸ BU Executive Report to the 45th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 26. The fund's statement of revenue for the period 1st July, 1924, to 30th June, 1925 reflected the following: revenue (£15,246.1s.11d.), expenditure (£562.3s.1d.), liabilities (£89.8s.11d.) and assets (£14,773.7s) (Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the period 1st July, 1924, to 30th June, 1925, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 57.).

¹¹⁰ Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 26.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 27.

ambiguous terms, means, a procedural formalization of a practice long carried out for the benefit of white ministers.¹¹³

By the close of 1926, a year before the inauguration of the Bantu Baptist Church,¹¹⁴ two other aspects characterized this history of the fund. Firstly, there was a constitutional amendment in the BU Constitution. The motion read: "That Clause 2 of Section VII of the Constitution [of the BU] be altered by the addition thereto of the words 'and the Treasurers of the Baptist Union Pension Fund and the Baptist Union Trust Fund.'"¹¹⁵ The clause referred to here read: "The Officers of the [Baptist] Union shall be the President, Vice-President, Ex-President, Treasurer, and General Secretary."¹¹⁶

Secondly, while efforts were concentrated "upon putting the Pension Fund on a sound basis, in connection with which a plan of campaign is to be submitted to this [1927] Assembly,"¹¹⁷ other funds for white ministers and missionaries suffered neglect. For example, the Hostel scheme which was reported to "[have] been largely in abeyance, and there are no further developments to report in the meantime."¹¹⁸ By the close of 1927, the fund's finances stood at: revenue (£15,836.19s.7d.), expenditure (£726.8s.2d.), liabilities (£124.5s.8d.) and assets (£15,234.17s.1d.).

6.2.2.2. Plans to form Sustentation Fund for Baptist ministry (1916)

As indicated earlier on, in Chapter 2, there was another Sustentation Fund formed in 1874, prior to the founding of the BU in 1877. This fund "was the true precursor of the Baptist Union."¹¹⁹ In contrast to the 1874 Fund, the 1916 resolution stated that "the question of a Sustentation Fund for the Baptist Ministry for S.A. be commended to the present Executive

¹¹³ Ibid. Further, at this assembly "Mr Henry Schmidt [was made] a Trustee of the Baptist Union Pension in place of Mr Stephen Smith deceased."

¹¹⁴ See Chapter 5.

¹¹⁵ Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 31.

¹¹⁶ Constitution of the Baptist Union of South Africa, amended and adopted at the Annual Assembly held in Pietermaritzburg, 18th October, 1921, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, pp. 49-53.

¹¹⁷ BU Executive Report to the Jubilee Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, held at Cape Town, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ *In Memoriam of Thomas Burnham King and Thomas Henry Grocott*, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 12.

for report.”¹²⁰ The 1916 resolution was proposing a Fund among other funds available in the Baptist Union, while the 1874 resolution was “to gather together a few of their scattered [Grahamstown] members into a Church at Alice, to minister to which Mr Brotherton was recalled to South Africa.”¹²¹

6.2.2.3. Formation of Ministers’ Widows Pension Fund (1917)

As argued previously, women in the Baptist Church, in particular black women, suffered triple oppression. That is, being oppressed because they were black, women and poor. In contrast to their white counterparts, the wives of black ministers further experienced institutional oppression, like their husbands. As has been evident thus far, South Africa’s Baptist Church structure and practices were primarily for the benefit of the white people. Clearly written in the rules of these different funds, already discussed, and more to be discussed, was that these funds were for European ministers and missionaries. And as already indicated, the BWA gladly raised funds to augment the Pension Fund. With the formation of the Ministers’ Widows Pension Fund, the widows of European ministers were also catered for, thus further widening their socio-economic advantages over their black counterparts.

During the 1917 BU Assembly Mr T. Riemer, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Pension Fund, read the following resolutions, which were moved by Rev E. Baker and seconded by the same Mr Riemer. They were carried unanimously and agreed to in principle: it was resolved, firstly: “To provide for half the pensions being continued to the widow of a member dying in receipt of a pension.”¹²² Secondly: “To provide a pension of £50 per annum at and after the age of 50 to the widow of a member of the Pension Fund in lieu of the gratuities, provided the necessary sums to complete the present Fund and to provide proposed pensions are raised.”¹²³ In order to put into effect these resolutions, the Pension Fund Committee was “instructed to go into the matter to ascertain what donations and contributions will be required to provide these premiums and suggest the necessary amendments in the Constitution for presentation to the next Assembly provided a safeguard is incorporated that

¹²⁰ Minutes of 1916 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1915-1916, p. 27.

¹²¹ *In Memoriam of Thomas Burnham King and Thomas Henry Grocott*, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 12.

¹²² Minutes of 1918 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1918-1919, p. 24.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

such pension shall be payable only in proportion to the amount of donation received to provide the same.”¹²⁴ Two years later, in 1919, it was reported at the Assembly that the constitution of the Fund “as amended to make provision for a Pension for Ministers’ Widows was approved and adopted.”¹²⁵ But it is only from 1922 (£87.7s.0d.)¹²⁶ onwards¹²⁷ that there is any record of wives’ contributions to the Fund.

After 1923, being the last report on the yearly contributions into this fund, there was no other report on this Fund, except miscellaneous reports on the Fund’s finances. It was only in 1937 that the BU Minutes gave a different perspective on the Fund, not merely a report of yearly contributions and payments done. This was in an obituary for Mrs F. E. Blackwell, according to which:

... her memory with us will always be specially fragrant on account of her activities in connection with the South African Baptists Women’s Association. [She] was one of the foundation members of this organization and was its first Treasurer, a position she filled till an illness caused her to relinquish it. It was largely through her initiative that provision was made for annuities instead of gratuities to be paid to the widows of our Ministers. At her own expense, [she] visited all the B.W.A.’s in this connection, and her advocacy was largely responsible for the necessary addition of £1,000 to the Pension Fund. Another effort of hers that will long be remembered was the addition to the Personal Members’ Roll of a number of women. At the 1920 Assembly, under her leadership, 17 women were proposed as Personal Members, their total subscription adding £34 annually to the Union Funds. Our deepest sympathy is extended to our beloved brother, Mr F. E. Blackwell, and to the four sons and two daughters.¹²⁸

But following the tribute to Mrs Blackwell, reports on this Fund continued as before. That is, women’s contributions were recorded as annual wives’ contributions to the Pension Fund.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 27. The same Assembly confirmed the appointment of Mr F. E. Blackwell as a Trustee of the Fund in place of the late Mr Greenwood White (*Ibid.*).

¹²⁶ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the period 1st July, 1922, to 30th June, 1923, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 64.

¹²⁷ These were for example: £87.9d.0s. (1923); £84.9d.0s. (1924); £81.9d.0s. (1925); £81.9s.0d (1926); and £79.19s.0d (1927).

¹²⁸ Obituary Tributes, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 78.

For example: 1938 (£93.12s.2d),¹²⁹ 1939 (£101.19s.6d.),¹³⁰ 1940 (£85.10s.0d.),¹³¹ and in 1941 (£85.10s.0d.).¹³² It is only in 1942 that a perspective on the “human side” of the ministers’ wives’ contributions is once again provided when the BWA Treasurer submitted “an encouraging financial statement showing receipts amounting to £209.9s.4d. [of which] £17.10s.0d was paid to the Extension Fund and the balance of the amount required to place Mrs Eriksson in the Pension Fund was raised.”¹³³ Mrs Eriksson’s husband, Mr D. H. Eriksson, was Superintendent of the Transvaal, Orange Free State and parts of Natal and the Cape Province.¹³⁴ As noted above, while her husband was the Superintendent, his wife was the missionary to the same field of which he was in charge.¹³⁵

6.2.3. Efforts to supplement ministers’ stipends: The Centenary Fund (1920), Ministers’ Stipend Augmentation Fund (1921) and the Central Sustentation Fund (1922)

The first effort to supplement the European ministers’ stipends was in 1920, during the BU Assembly, when it was agreed to establish a Fund to be called “The Centenary Fund.” Its objectives were:

1. That the sum to be aimed at be at least £5,000.
2. That 20% of the amount be allocated towards the completion of the Pension Fund.
3. That with the remainder a Trust Fund be created as the nucleus of a Ministerial Sustentation Fund, the interest therefrom to be used toward the support of the Ministry in weaker [European] Churches.
4. That each Church be informed that this amount can be raised if the giving be at the rate of £1 per member.

¹²⁹ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July 1937, to 31st June, 1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 53.

¹³⁰ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July 1938, to 30th June, 1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 57.

¹³¹ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July 1939, to 31st June, 1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 35.

¹³² Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July 1940, to 30th June, 1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 52.

¹³³ Executive Reports for the year 1941-1942 presented to the Annual Assembly at King Williamstown, October 7th to 13th, 1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 14.

¹³⁴ The South African Baptist Missionary Society: Missionaries and Bantu Ministers, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 85.

¹³⁵ See Chapter 4.

5. That the fund be inaugurated at this Assembly and that it be the aim to complete the fund in three years.¹³⁶

Concerning the committee and other appointments for the management of the Fund, these “were referred to the Executive for the necessary action.”¹³⁷ In the same Assembly, the Laymen’s Committee, which was appointed to consider Ministerial Stipends, reported on the mandate it was given. The following aspects, constituting the Committee’s report, were unanimously adopted “with cordial thanks of the Ministerial brethren to the Committee for their work in preparing it.”¹³⁸ Firstly, with reference to the resolution of the previous year’s Assembly on the subject of the Stipend Augmentation Fund, this Assembly considered that, “owing to the continued rise in the cost of living the position is much more acute than it then was, and urges upon each Church in the Union to take steps immediately to relieve its Minister from anxiety as to temporal matters.”¹³⁹

In order to carry out this resolution, the Assembly “resolve[d] to form a special Committee of Laymen to deal with the matter, to consist of Messrs. F. M. Williams and W. Chappel, Cape Town; H. Schmidt and R. P. Sawers, Kimberley; F. Stacey and S. Brailsford, East London; W.S. Clarke and S.H. Grimwood, Durban; J. Barrow, W. Evans and A. L. Palmer, Johannesburg; R.A. Eales and J. Fair, Pretoria; S. Smith and [T. B.] King, Grahamstown; W.S. Gardner and J. Temlett, Queenstown; F. Sheppard, M.P.C., Alice; Dr. Ph. Gutsche, and Messrs. J. W. Schmidt and H. Bartels, German Churches. The duty of this Committee was: “(a) To bring to the notice of all the Churches the need for substantial increases in the stipends of all Ministers in order to meet the increased cost of living. (b) To secure as far as possible the adoption of the principle of a minimum salary for all Ministers. (c) The raising of the Augmentation Fund started last year to an amount sufficient to enable the Union Executive to make up salaries to the minimum in cases where the Churches concerned are unable to raise the whole sum.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 26.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 28.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

In addition to a special committee of laymen, which presented its report to the assembly, it was further "instructed to establish sub-Committees in each of the districts named above."¹⁴¹ Such a Committee "shall carry on its operations by way of (a) Correspondence, (b) Circulars, (c) Meetings with the officers or members of the Churches, leaving the Ministers out of the matter as far as possible." Furthermore, all churches were "asked to co-operate with the Committee, and Ministers and Churches are asked to give any information they can (in confidence) to the Committee."¹⁴² Lastly, and in the most explicit resolution concerning the payment of European ministers, the assembly resolved that: "In the opinion of the Assembly the minimum stipend for a Minister in a large town should be £420, and in a small town £300 per annum, it being understood that in the case of a single man the Union Executive should be authorised to make special arrangements under exceptional circumstances, as also in the case of new causes."¹⁴³

The same year (1920) that these resolutions were passed, the Baptist Union's Treasurer's Statement indicated amounts of £134.3s.6d. (receipt) and £105.16s.0d. (expenditure in two quarters) – clearly stated as Ministers' Stipend Augmentation Fund.¹⁴⁴ The Fund's yearly receipts and expenditures were recorded until the end of 1922, when the Central Sustentation Fund was introduced. Briefly, these were: £116.13s.2d. (receipt) and £108.2s.6d. (expenditure) in 1921;¹⁴⁵ and in 1922 there is no record of any receipt but £19.3s.2d. was recorded as the expenditure.¹⁴⁶

During the 1925 BU Assembly, following a paper read by Rev E. Baker on *Our Baptist Polity in Light of Experience* which, according to the minutes, "gave rise to considerable discussion,"¹⁴⁷ the following resolution, which had come to the Assembly through the BU Executive, from the Minister's Session, was unanimously adopted. It read: "That in the

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Baptist Union of South Africa Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, 1st October, 1918, to 30th September, 1919, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 45.

¹⁴⁵ Baptist Union of South Africa Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, 1st October, 1919, to September 30th, 1920, in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 45.

¹⁴⁶ Baptist Union of South Africa Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, 1st October, 1921, to September 30th, 1922, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 50.

¹⁴⁷ Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 29.

opinion of this Assembly the establishment of a Central Sustentation Fund for the adequate support of our Ministry is imperative for the consolidation and extension of our work and should have the utmost consideration.”¹⁴⁸ Following this resolution, it was further resolved that “the [BU] Executive be asked to arrange for a non-Ministerial Session at the next Assembly.”¹⁴⁹ This session, which did take place at the subsequent assembly, was referred to as the Laymen’s Session.¹⁵⁰ The session however, had no follow-up concerning the Central Sustentation Fund formed at the previous year’s Assembly. On the contrary, during this session, “a Committee ... was appointed to organize and bring up concrete proposals at the next Annual Assembly for the formation of a Men’s Association.”¹⁵¹ And, “such Committee is to request the Executive to arrange for the whole of Saturday morning at next Assembly to be given over to the Men’s Session.”¹⁵²

6.3. Funds to generate capital for the BU

6.3.1. Inauguration of the 20th Century Fund (1899)

By the close of the 1890’s, there was only one fund existing in the Baptist Church of South Africa. This fund was the Annuity Fund, formed in 1894, seventeen years after the formation of the BU in 1877. In 1899, the year that the Anglo-Boer war began, another fund was formed at this Assembly, held in Pretoria. This was the 20th Century Fund, also referred to as the Forward Movement Fund. Prior to discussing this Fund, it is important to note that this Assembly was different to all previous BU Assemblies in that it was opened by “His Honour, S. J. P. Kruger, Staats [meaning State] President.”¹⁵³ Peculiar about this occasion is that, the BU, an English led body, which held its assembly in the Transvaal, an Afrikaner republic, was addressed by the republic’s president at the verge of an Afrikaners (Boer) versus English (Anglo) war.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 29-30.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁵⁰ It is important to note that this Laymen’s Session is not the same as the report by the Laymen’s Committee of 1920, concerning ministerial stipends.

¹⁵¹ Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 31.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Notes of the Session of the XXII Annual Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 10.

Somewhat acknowledging this contradiction, the outgoing BU president, Rev G. W. Cross,¹⁵⁴ in his address hinted: "We are of English and German speech, but we are one with you in the worship and service of our Lord Jesus Christ."¹⁵⁵ He further mentioned: "We have seen the marvellous rise of this State, have noted its wonderful deliverance, and have honoured in you, Sire (sic), a strong, God-fearing ruler - one entrusted by God with the sword of the State - called to be God's Minister to this people for good. We have rejoiced in you as an upholder of our precious Protestant Faith, and have noted with joy your service and support of your own Puritan Church."¹⁵⁶ As could be expected, consistent with the tone he had commenced with, he further added: "We are here to co-operate with Your Honour in all work for the People's good. We know that a state, like a man, is only strong through purity, only exalted by righteousness."¹⁵⁷ Kruger, of course, responded, not forgetting, however, to affirm that he was a Christian by stating:

I call you brothers and sisters because you believe with me in Christ. When I see how the Gospel is being spread, I think of the words, 'How beautiful are the feet of those who bring messages of peace.' Those words are dear to me, and I rejoice to see the fulfilment of the Word. ... For this reason I am glad that I have been able to come here - to see and to feel that peace is preached also in this Church in the name of Christ.¹⁵⁸

Concerning the Fund, which was also discussed during the BU Assembly, the Assembly resolved: "That the [Baptist] Union inaugurate a forward movement and take steps to raise a sum of £5,000, to be called the XXth Century Fund."¹⁵⁹ According to *Notes of the Session*, "many momentous questions were discussed in [the] Session and wise resolutions were passed, but the XXth Century Fund is the most important movement of the year. [This is because] South Africa is advancing."¹⁶⁰ Elaborating on this, the minutes further recorded: "Since our Union started the wealth of the country has multiplied itself by 10 and again by

¹⁵⁴ According to Minutes of the 1899 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 54, the ex-president, Rev G. W. Cross, after opening the Assembly "retired from the chair, and in the regretted absence of the President, Rev J. B. Hear, Mr T. H. Grocott was elected to preside over the meetings, which he did at each session."

¹⁵⁵ Notes of the Session of the XXII Annual Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 10.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

10; the population has increased and the Great Lone Land now contains centres of crowded, burning life; British rule has extended from Kimberley to Tanganyika; and everywhere are open doors we are not entering and calls we are not heeding."¹⁶¹ Concerning the total figure for the fund, the BU Executive added: "£5,000 seems small, and indeed it is small for the work which is before us."¹⁶² While making this comment, the Executive acknowledged however that: "Our Churches are most of them young and hampered with debt, the work of the Mission grows upon us and its demand has arisen from a hundred to a thousand pounds per annum, in the course of a very few years."¹⁶³

Pertaining to the resolution to inaugurate the Forward Movement and to raise the sum of £5,000, the Assembly also added: "The Fund shall close on March 31st, 1901, and be distributed as follows: one-fifth to the S.A.B. Missionary Society, one-tenth to the Annuity Fund, [and] seven-tenths to the developing work of the [Baptist] Union in the most needy centres – Transvaal and Rhodesia being specially recommended."¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, that "each Church in the [Baptist] Union be earnestly requested to form a capable Committee to promote this Fund; that the Executive draw up an historic roll, on which shall be inscribed the name of each subscriber of one guinea and upwards to the Fund, and that friends be invited to commemorate the names of departed worthies of the Baptist Churches in South Africa by this means."¹⁶⁵ Lastly, that "the Executive act as a Central Committee for organizing and raising this Fund."¹⁶⁶

But by March 31st, 1900, the Fund had not made much progress. This was due to the outbreak of the war and the consequent loss of and inconvenience to "many of our Churches, [therefore] decided us not to press this fund, as instructed by the last Assembly."¹⁶⁷ As a

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁴ Minutes of 1899 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, pp. 59-60.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ BU Executive Report to the Twenty-third Annual Assembly of B.U.S.A., in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 31. (Due to the Anglo-Boer War, the BU Handbooks for 1900-1901, 1901-1902 and 1902-1903 were not produced, thus there was only one BU Handbook for 1900-1903.). A special War Losses Fund was even formed. It disbursed in total £272.0s.1d. and remained with a balance in hand of £101.4s.3d. See War Losses

result of the war, early in it, the BU "made an appeal to the Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, for £5,000 from [its] 20th Century Fund to enable [them] to restart [the] Northern Churches."¹⁶⁸ Reporting sadly on this, "Apparently without coming before the Council, our request was considered out of order,"¹⁶⁹ remarked the BU Executive. Given this, the executive further reported: "There was nothing for us to do, but immediately to open a special fund here, to assist the pastors of the Northern Churches, in the straits to which most of them were reduced."¹⁷⁰ The disappointing response from the BU in Britain did not discourage the BU in South Africa, as it made further appeals "to the denominations at home [Britain] though the press, [about which] some slight response has been made to the various letters that have appeared but communications sent to Australia, Canada, the United States, have not been acknowledged."¹⁷¹ In addition, lectures delivered in England by the Rev J. Ennals have helped "to swell the amount received from home."¹⁷² And the response "in this Colony was immediate and good and we have been able to minister though inadequately to our men in their dire need."¹⁷³

Given the unsatisfactory response that the BU in South Africa had received from that in Britain, the BU Executive reported that it would submit a proposal to the 1901 Assembly, for the formation of the Home Aid Society in Great Britain. This, as will later be observed, came to be called the Colonial Aid Society. In addition to being disappointed due to lack of financial assistance from the BU at home (Britain), the South African BU Executive reported the resignation of the BU President, Rev J. B. Heard, from the BU. According to the report:

The Rev J. B. Heard, did not return to South Africa till after some time after the Pretoria Assembly. Owing to the publication in the Handbook of the address to President Kruger, he announced to the members of the executive individually, that he withdrew from the [Baptist]

Fund Balance Sheet submitted by the Treasurer, Mr H. Hall, to the 23rd Annual Assembly of the B.U.S.A. July, 1900, to May, 1901, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 60.

¹⁶⁸ BU Executive Report to the Twenty-third Annual Assembly of B.U.S.A., in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 30.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

Union. This he did without either calling the Assembly, or even the executive together and the work of that body was considerably hampered in consequence.¹⁷⁴

Heard's resignation leaves many questions regarding the reasons why he did not approve of the address to the 1899 BU Assembly by President Kruger. This is because, unlike those of previous BU presidents, Heard's presidential address was never published in the BU Handbook. Its publication would undoubtedly have provided clues about his theological and ideological stance. By way of probing his resignation, for a start: Could it be that his pro-British colonial politics clouded his judgment? Or, could it be that he knew that the "internal" BU's (an English body) attitude to Kruger, president of an Afrikaner state, was the opposite of what was portrayed by this public occasion?

Regarding the 20th Century Fund, the 1901 Assembly resolved: "That the time has passed for carrying out the resolution of the Assembly, at its last session [1899], regarding the Twentieth Century Fund."¹⁷⁵ This resulted in the Assembly authorizing "the President [Rev E. Baker] and the Secretary to visit Johannesburg, to confer with Baptist Churches, and individual Baptists there, with a view to inaugurating a Forward Movement in the new era."¹⁷⁶ Moreover: "That up to the sum of £400 be allocated for the Forward Movement in Johannesburg."¹⁷⁷ This was the last resolution and report on this Fund. A similar fund was reintroduced in 1920,¹⁷⁸ though with different emphasis. The reason for this was possibly due to the new fund, the Colonial Aid Society, which received more support.

6.3.2. South African Colonial and Missionary Aid Society (1903)

Nothing from the above discussion demonstrates that by the time the 1899 BU Assembly was convened, the Anglo-Boer War was looming. This war continued until 1902. Given the English character of the BU and its support of the British Crown, it is therefore not ironic that

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Minutes of 1901 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 87.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 88.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ See BU Executive Report to the 41st Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 7.

a year after the war ended, the new fund formed came to be called the Colonial Aid Society. The phrase “colonial”, in the context of the Baptist Church, had as early as 1873 been used to name funds.¹⁷⁹ For example, in 1873 when “there were only four congregations of Baptist Churches in this Colony, and though in full sympathy with each other, they felt no active work was being done outside their own particular spheres of labour.”¹⁸⁰ Thus, in November 1873, a meeting was held in a schoolroom adjoining the Grahamstown Church, whereat, after some discussion, it was decided “to set the movement working, and to name it the Colonial Baptist Sustentation Fund, the object of which was to assist in the formation and support of Baptist Churches in the Colony.”¹⁸¹ At this meeting it was found that “the sum of £100 could be raised in the denomination towards such a laudable object”¹⁸² and the churches were invited to apply for assistance from this Fund.

In 1903, the Colonial Aid Society, also referred to as Society of Aid or Colonial Society, became another fund with the word: colonial in its title. But efforts to form this Fund had started as early as 1901 when a decision was passed at the Assembly “to request representative and leading men in the denomination at home [Britain] to unite in the formation of a Society of Aid, [at which it was further resolved] to inaugurate the Forward Movement in Johannesburg, and the report of the War Losses Fund.”¹⁸³ In the subsequent BU Executive Report, it is reported that correspondence had been “opened with the leaders of the denomination at home, regarding the establishment of a South African Aid Society.”¹⁸⁴ As a result, the secretary of the BU Executive, Rev G. W. Cross, added, “we can now submit proposals for the organization of such a Society. We have every reason to think that an active influential committee can now be formed within the [Baptist] Union at home [Britain], a committee which will represent, and work for us in England.”¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ See Chapter 2.

¹⁸⁰ *Our Union* – An address delivered at the Ninth Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, September 6th, 1886, at King Williamstown, by Mr T. H. Grocott, the President, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 8.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ Notes on the 23rd Assembly held in Grahamstown, May 1901, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 14.

¹⁸⁴ BU Executive Report for 1900-1901, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 30.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

The following two resolutions were laid before the 1901 Assembly from the Gold Fields Baptist Missionary Society, regarding the Society of Aid. Firstly, "That this Committee suggests to the Baptist Union of South Africa, that the Board of Reference which represents in England the Missionary Work of the Troyeville Church, should form the nucleus of a larger Board to represent the work of the Colonial Churches, the South African Baptist Missionary Society, and the Gold Fields Baptist Missionary Society."¹⁸⁶ Further, "that we place this organization in the hands of the Baptist Union of South Africa on the condition that the first £200 of the annual receipts is guaranteed for the support of a European Missionary to the Natives on the Rand, and also that should the income exceed £600 per annum the Gold Fields Baptist Missionary Society have a third share of the income with each of the other two bodies named."¹⁸⁷ Secondly, that "This Board recommends to the Baptist Union of South Africa that a new Board should be nominated by the Union which should be representative of the Baptist Churches of the Transvaal, and which should superintend all Missionary Work of the Denomination in that Colony, and report annually to the Assembly."¹⁸⁸

Following on the above two resolutions, the following recommendations by the Executive were submitted, and discussed. The Assembly having received certain suggestions from the Board of Management of the Gold Fields Baptist Missionary Society, welcomed their co-operation and resolved as follows. Firstly, "That in order to create an interest amongst the Churches of Great Britain and Ireland in the work of the Baptist Denomination in South Africa and to collect and forward funds in aid of the European, and Native work of the South African Baptist Union, steps be taken to form in Great Britain and Ireland a South African Baptist Union and Missionary Aid Society."¹⁸⁹ Secondly, "That such a Society form a Board of Reference with which the Baptist Union of South African could correspond to obtain suitable men, as Missionaries, and also represent the Baptist Union of Great Britain and

¹⁸⁶ Minutes of 1901 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 85. The Gold Fields Missionary Society was formed by Rev Thomas Chapman and the Troyeville Church, in 1898. In October 1901 when the South African Colonial and Missionary Aid Society was formed, the Gold Fields Missionary Society was incorporated into it (Hudson-Reed, S. 1977. *History of the Baptist Union of South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: South African Baptist Historical Society, p. 79.)

¹⁸⁷ Minutes of 1901 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 85.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 86. Prior to the Assembly, Cradock Church had reported in its report to the Assembly that: "We are pleased to note that at last a South African Colonial Missionary Society has been formed in England." (Chronicles of the Churches, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 35.)

¹⁸⁹ Minutes of 1901 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, pp. 86.

Ireland."¹⁹⁰ Thirdly, "That we request the President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, The Rev. Dr. Maclaren, the Revs. Dr. Clifford, Thomas Spurgeon, Samuel Vincent, William Cuff, J. H. Shakespeare, Hugh D. Brown, Principal Edwards, F.H. Roberts and Ralph Holme, with the Revs. J. E. Ennals, and T. Chapman to form themselves into such a society with power to add to their numbers."¹⁹¹

Fourthly, concerning these resolutions themselves, "That these resolutions be conveyed to the gentlemen named, and that the work of gathering their answers be entrusted to the Revs J. E. Ennals, and T. Chapman, who are hereby empowered to take the necessary steps to organize the Society."¹⁹² Fifthly and somewhat interestingly, "That the promotion of the work in the Transvaal and Orange River ['Afrikaner'] Colonies be a first charge upon all moneys collected by the Society up to June 30th, 1902."¹⁹³ Sixthly, "That from and after July 1st 1902, the Gold Fields Auxiliary of the South African Baptist Missionary Society have the first £200 per annum for two years, and that all above that amount be apportioned as the Assembly shall from time to time determine."¹⁹⁴ The seventh resolution, which also continued from the fifth one, read: "That an Auxiliary Committee of the South African Baptist Missionary Society be formed which shall be representative of the Baptist Churches of the Transvaal, and which shall superintend as far as possible all the Missionary work of the Denomination in that ['Afrikaner'] Colony and report from time to time to the South African Baptist Missionary Society."¹⁹⁵ Lastly, "That one representative from each of the three bodies named, be elected to form a Committee to collect, and forward information concerning the work in South Africa for circulation in Great Britain."¹⁹⁶

These proposed resolutions "were discussed seriatim by the whole assembly in Committee after which Mr. T. B. King, J. P., proposed, and the Rev. T. Perry seconded, that they be adopted. [And were] carried unanimously."¹⁹⁷ What it is also important to note about these

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

resolutions, besides their intention to establish such a society in Britain to assist the churches in the colony, is their explicit intention to further establish and strengthen the Baptist Church in Afrikaner colonies, particularly the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies. This energetic focus on these colonies is undoubtedly grounded on the English character and pro-British Crown ideology of the BU. For example, in the same Assembly, a resolution entitled *Loyal Address to the King* (of England) was passed. By way of extracting its essence, which will later be discussed,¹⁹⁸ the address read as follows: "To His Majesty King Edward VII, By the Grace of God King of Great Britain and Ireland, Emperor of India, Defender of the Faith, ... We the members ... of the Baptist Union of South Africa, representing all the British, German, and Native Baptist Churches of Your Majesty's South African Colonies ... express the sense of loss which we share with whole Empire through the death of our later Sovereign, Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria ... We desire to declare our loyalty to your Majesty's Throne and Person and to express the confidence we have that our ancient liberties in things pertaining to conscience will be upheld by Your Majesty."¹⁹⁹ It is worth noting the occasion during which this resolution was "moved by the President [Rev E. Baker], and adopted by the whole Assembly rising and singing the National Anthem."²⁰⁰ This was a jubilant occasion because the war was over and the English had won it over against the Boers.

By October 1902, when the Assembly was next convened, the BU Executive reported that the formation of the Aid Society was an accomplished fact. The Society's first meeting in connection with the "Autumnal Sessions of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, was held on the day on which we assembled. Cables conveying greetings passed for the first time between the Home and the S.A. Unions."²⁰¹ It was found necessary to mention in the report that though "our hopes were high regarding the ultimate issue of the work undertaken on our behalf in England, we did not allow that to slacken our efforts at self help and extension in the country."²⁰² This, according to the BU Executive, resulted in estimates "for the [Baptist] Union [which] totalled over £1,000, and for the Missionary Society £2,000.

¹⁹⁸ See Chapter 9.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

²⁰¹ Notes on the 24th Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1900-1903*, p. 93.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

Putting our European and Native work together the highest we have ever pledged ourselves to raise in any preceding year has been £1,500.”²⁰³ According to the BU Executive, these figures “provided for substantial help to the Churches of the new colonies, the employment of an additional European Missionary, increases in the salaries of [European] Missionaries, the erection of a house in Pondoland, ... , and the provision of an additional minister at East London.”²⁰⁴ Even though the BU would raise its own money, a “request to the Aid Society for £550 [was made], including a grant for the re-starting of Mission work amongst the Natives in the Rand Gold Mines, and the opening up of Rhodesia.”²⁰⁵ This, in the BU’s opinion, was because “the years of war has seen us just holding our own but there is headway now to be made. We shall require all the help our members can give if we are to occupy fields that beckon us.”²⁰⁶

During the same period that the Society of Aid was formed, the Ecumenical Assembly in Edinburgh was in session. By way of introducing the Society to the Ecumenical Assembly “in October last [1901], and asking for them a favourable hearing when they should plead our cause,”²⁰⁷ a letter was written to the secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Reportedly: “Our brethren were most cordially received, and Mr King pleaded our case with power and great success.”²⁰⁸ Furthermore, according to the BU Executive, “in accordance with the resolutions of last [BU] Assembly [in South Africa] letters were written to the Revs Dr Maclaren, ... , to form themselves into a Colonial Society.”²⁰⁹ Finally, “a strong Committee of Aid consisting of 50 prominent and representative Baptists [was] formed.”²¹⁰ This was on September 16th, 1901, in the Library of the Baptist Mission House, Furnival Street, in London.²¹¹

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Report of the BU Executive to the 24th Annual Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1900-1903*, p. 111.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Report on the formation of the South African Colonial and Missionary Aid Society, in *BU Handbook for 1900-1903*, p. 115.

Introducing the formation of the Society, Rev Chapman stated: "In accordance with the desires expressed, your representatives (then in England) Rev. J. E. Ennals, Thos. Chapman and Ralph Holme, being empowered to act in the name of the Union decided upon a course of action which brought about the result already seen in the young but vigorous Society which promises to render valuable assistance to Baptist Colonial and Missionary work throughout South Africa."²¹² The first step taken to form the Society was to personally interview the gentlemen named by the Union, and other leading men likely to be of service to the Society. They first saw Rev J. H. Shakespeare, Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain. He expressed his entire approval of the formation of the Colonial Society, and offered his hearty cooperation and support as a member of the Board of Directors of the proposed Society. In the interviews with "Revs Dr Clifford, S. Vincent, F. B. Meyer, W. Cuff, Principal Edwards, Alderman George White and others, it was evident that the psychological moment for the formation of such a Society had come. Most of them lamented the fact that the Colonies had been so overlooked, and all promised their hearty co-operation in a Society which would express the oneness of the Denomination and federate Baptists in a Union of helpful Brotherhood."²¹³

It is interesting to note that at the inaugural meeting of September 16th, 1901, among those present were Mr. T. B. King, Rev T. Chapman and Rev. R. Holme, then Pastor Elect for Bloemfontein, who were reported as "representing Africa [not South Africa]."²¹⁴ Such an understanding of the scoped representation was of course, was not a mistake as the BU Executive, as mentioned before, was already excited about the prospects of mission into Rhodesia. The first business of the Meeting was to discuss the formation of the Colonial and Missionary Society. This proposal was read and introduced by Mr. T. B. King, who further enlarged upon "the need we had in Africa [not South Africa] for help from Home; that we were the only Denomination not receiving outside assistance, and that the time had come when without real help our Denomination must fail to discharge its full responsibilities."²¹⁵

²¹² Ibid., p. 114.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 115.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

After discussion on this matter in which considerable interest was manifested, a Resolution was passed which read as follows: "That in compliance with the request of the South African Baptist Union, a Society shall be and is hereby formed to further Baptist work in South Africa and in such ways as the members and officers of the Society may deem advisable; and it is further resolved that the Baptist Churches in Great Britain and Ireland be earnestly invited to give their hearty support to the work of this Society."²¹⁶ At this meeting it was also decided that those present form themselves into a Board of Directors with power to elect their officers and Executive, and that the proceedings of the meeting form a record of the formation of the Society.²¹⁷

Immediately following his appointment, Rev S. Vincent, vice-chairman, presented the following resolution passed at a Special Meeting of the Baptist Council: "That a small Committee be appointed to consider and report what, if anything, should be done to promote a closer union between the Baptists of the Colonies and ourselves, and especially to consider the present condition and future prospects of our brethren in South Africa, and to report thereon if possible at the next meeting of the Council."²¹⁸ It was also resolved to request the Rev Vincent to make known the formation of this Society, which fully met the objects for which the Committee had been appointed by the Baptist Council of Great Britain, and to thank the Council for its consideration of the needs of South Africa.

In accordance with his promise the Rev J. H. Shakespeare arranged for time to be allowed at the Ecumenical Council held in Edinburgh during October 1901,²¹⁹ to hear about this Colonial Aid Society. The following resolution was passed: "That this Council has heard with great satisfaction of the formation of the Baptist South African Colonial and Missionary Aid Society for the purpose of helping forward the work of God in South Africa among our own countrymen and other Europeans, and among the natives, and earnestly commends the

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ This "Ecumenical Council" seems however, not to have been part of the "mainstream" ecumenical initiatives and councils that led to the formation of the World Council of Churches. For a detailed discussion of the stages, as early as 1784, that led to the formation of the World Council of Churches in 1948, see Gaines's voluminous and ground breaking work: Gaines, D. P. (1966). *The World Council of Churches: A Study of Its Background and History*. New Hampshire: Richard R Smith.

work of this Society to the prayerful generous consideration of the Baptist Churches of Great Britain and Ireland.”²²⁰ Reporting on this meeting, Rev Chapman stated that: “At the great Ecumenical Meeting, the first of its kind ever held in connection with the Baptist Denomination, Africa’s needs were forcibly presented by our present worthy President, Mr T. B. King. In a ten minute speech (the longest time allowed) he described the noble struggles of the Baptists in South Africa and the vaster possibilities open to them upon the Proclamation of Peace; and urged the need of planting churches for Baptists who should settle in this country.”²²¹ As indicated above, the South African - Europeans only - delegation saw themselves as representing and speaking on behalf of Africa. This was, of course, the typical “master attitude,”²²² which articulated common colonial attitudes about the rest of Africa.

At the close of the meeting Dr McLaren, according to the BU minutes, singled out Mr. King’s appeal for South Africa and forcibly urged it, saying: “I am especially desirous that the appeal in reference to the new Society, which we are forming with the hope of helping our friends in South Africa in their arduous and immense work, may be listened to generously, and responded to largely in our Denomination. Will you give it the consideration which it deserves?”²²³ Following the Ecumenical Assembly at Edinburgh, the final stage in the launching of the Society was a grand reception given by Mr T. B. King in the Holborn Restaurant, London, on December 17th, 1901. Invitations were sent to all the leading Baptist ministers and laymen within an easy distance of the city, also to students of some of the London Baptist Colleges. There was a hearty response to the invitations and the elaborate arrangements in the gilded Hall were in perfect keeping with the glowing hopes held out to the New Society. The speakers of the evening were “Revs J. R. Wood, S. Vincent, Chas. Spurgeon, and Mr R. H. Henson. Africa being represented by Mr. King the worthy host, also Chairman, and Rev. T. Chapman.”²²⁴ By this public reception the Society was formally launched and received the public recognition and warm support of the Denomination’s

²²⁰ Report on the formation of the South African Colonial and Missionary Aid Society, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, pp. 116-117.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 117.

²²² See Chapter 4.

²²³ Report on the formation of the South African Colonial and Missionary Aid Society, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 115.

²²⁴ Ibid.

leading representatives. This, according to Rev Chapman, was made possible by "the genial intercourse ... by Mr. King's generosity [which] did much to create new interest in our South African Churches."²²⁵

The management of the Society consisted of a Board of Directors, with President, Vice-President, Secretary and an Executive. At its inception, there were thirty-six members in all, seventeen of whom formed the Executive. But by October 6th, 1902, a new rule had been passed according to which the Society would be under the direction of a Board consisting of fifty members forty of whom, twenty-five ministers and fifteen laymen, would be elected by Ballot at the Annual Meeting and ten would be elected by the Board. Representation-wise: "Scotland, Ireland and Wales are represented by one or more leading Baptists, also every Baptist College in Great Britain and Ireland has its Principal or a Professor as a member of the Board."²²⁶ Administratively, "a further development of the Constitution is at present in progress, that is, to appoint ministers as county Secretaries in every county or collection of counties, who will undertake to organise meetings in every district, to appoint speakers, and in every church a Christian Endeavour, where possible, to appoint a collector for the Society."²²⁷ It was hoped that in time, "the Board of Directors would be largely composed of the county representatives."²²⁸

There were five objectives for which the Society was founded. These objectives, as agreed "with the wishes of the [Baptist] Union [of South Africa],"²²⁹ are:

I. It was stated by the Board that they thought it necessary first to assist in re-starting those churches financially and otherwise affected through war.

II. Further they desired to assist in aggressive work, keeping abreast if possible with the new development of the country.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 118.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

III. Missionary work on a very large scale was considered necessary. It was referred to as work amongst the Coloured Races rather than among "Natives," so as to include Malays, Coolies, Chinese etc., amongst whom such work was urged as being necessary.

IV. Then not only would they seek to appoint ministers, when requested to do so, for vacant pastorates in South Africa, but to interest students in the Colleges by arranging special meetings when the needs of the country and the opportunities for talented men in the South African churches should be made known. As a result an interest would be awakened even though they might not respond to our South African ministerial attractions.

V. A point for special attention is that all help is to be rendered in connection with and through the South African Baptist Union. The question was raised as to whether the Colonial Society should have power over the allocation of money collected. It was decided that the Colonial Society should not be merely collectors and forwarders of money without knowledge of the purpose for which it was to be used, but that such money would be forwarded to the South African Union responsible to definite requests for funds for specific objects.²³⁰

The means employed for raising money were: appeals to all the churches for one Sunday to be set aside as Colonial Sunday, when one or both of the collections should be given to the Colonial Society; and "Share Certificates," which were to be recorded in a little book issued by the Secretary, in which there were shilling and sixpenny shares. These books were to be used in Christian Endeavour Societies, and the County Secretaries would arrange systematic visitation. According to the *Report*, "Mr. Henson was hopeful enough to anticipate an income of £1,000 a year through the Share Certificates when properly circulated. [But] the great drawback to the financial success of the Society in its initiation was the 20th Century Fund [in Britain], which even now is a severe drain on even the strongest churches."²³¹ The third and last means by which money would be raised was by lectures on Religious Life and Work in South Africa, illustrated by limelight views. According to Rev Chapman, he reported that "[he was] able to leave for the use of the Society a collection of the most typical and interesting slides, taken or collected by myself, and showing South African towns and

²³⁰ The Objects of the [Colonial Aid] Society, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, pp. 118-119. See also Volume Three (Appendices), document entitled: Report on formation of the South African Colonial and Missionary Aid Society.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

cities, our churches and ministers, natives in the towns, on the mines and in their kraals.”²³² To accompany the slides, “[he] also wrote a lecture to be printed and used, if thought advisable, by the lecturers.”²³³

In addition to these efforts to publicise and generate funds for the Society, an arrangement was also made with Mr. Shakespeare for a Column in the *Baptist Times and Freeman* to be devoted to the *South African News and Notes for Baptists*. It was hoped, according to Rev Chapman, that by “this means the most vital sections of our work would be laid before the public each week.”²³⁴ He continued: “I have reason to know that this is one of the most eagerly read columns in the paper, and if we wish to retain the ear of the public and to increase its interest, this column must be made bright and vigorous, and represent every phase of our work and need.”²³⁵ Therefore, “in this way, more than in any other, it is possible for us to strengthen the hands of our Secretary and to appeal through him to hearts still needing the quickening life of awakened sympathies.”²³⁶

Following the formation of the Aid Society, two main activities characterized its operations. These were: applications by a number of churches for financial assistance and the growing number of ministers from England taking either pastoral or missionary responsibilities in South Africa. Before discussing these two activities, it is important to note that during the BU Assembly of 1902, at Cape Town, five resolutions regarding the Aid Society were passed. Pertinent to note are resolutions three, four and five. In brief, resolution three stated the appointment of a corresponding secretary in South Africa, “whose duties shall be to collect news and forward if each week for information and publication in Great Britain and that the communication for the Colonial and Missionary Aid Society, or for publication in the column be devoted to its advocacy in the *Baptist Times and Freeman* and be forwarded through him.”²³⁷ Following resolution three’s clarification on “chain of communication,” the fourth resolution addressed applications “to [the] Baptist S.A.C.M.A.S. for monetary aid

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ Minutes of 1902 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 145. See also Volume Three (Appendices) the document entitled: Resolutions *re* The Aid Society.

from churches, associations, and societies through the [Baptist] Union by its executive."²³⁸ That is, all applications had to go through the BU by means of its executive. The fifth resolution addressed the question of the selection of pastors, on which the Assembly resolved: "the Baptist S.A.C.M.A.S. will act as a board of reference to whom they may refer to the question ... and such work."²³⁹

For a start, the same (1902) Assembly resolved to approach the Aid Society for the following sums, "and to request that they be granted in the order named: Bloemfontein (£50), Cape Town passage money for minister for Observatory (£50.0.0), Gold Fields Missionary Society (£100), Natal Association (£30), S.A.B.M.S. (£150) [and] Rhodesia (£200)."²⁴⁰ These were followed in 1903 by the BU Assembly held in Johannesburg during which, it was decided to ask the Aid Society for the following grants: Rhodesia (£200), Observatory (£100), Bloemfontein (£200), Natal Baptist Association (£125), S.A. Baptist Missionary Society (£125), Transvaal Baptist Association (£350) and the Transvaal Missionary Board (£100). The Assembly also reaffirmed the request for funds from the Arthington Trustees through the Aid Society for work in Rhodesia.²⁴¹ Most of these funds, particularly from the Aid Society, did not easily come through. For example, the BU Executive in its report for 1904 BU Assembly stated: "Altogether the Aid Society has voted since we last met the sum of £467 for our South African work. [The sum of] £1,100 of the £1,200 applied for from Johannesburg has still to come forward. [The sum of] £100 has been received in response to our request from the Johannesburg Assembly for Native work in the Transvaal."²⁴² In this same *Report* the BU Executive announced that an "effort has been to establish a Loan Fund for new churches at a low rate of interest. Proposals concerning this will be laid before you."²⁴³

Concerning the other aspect, that of financial assistance to ministers from England, the Aid Society accelerated the arrival of ministers from England in South Africa. Furthermore, in

²³⁸ Minutes of 1902 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1900-1903*, p. 145.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

²⁴¹ Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1903-1906*, p. 17.

²⁴² Report of the BU Executive to the Twenty-Sixth Annual Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1903-1906*, p. 32.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

some cases it guaranteed a sum of money towards the support of a minister. The first such assistance was when a BU deputation "consisting of Rev E. Baker, the secretary, and one other elected by them, visited Johannesburg to meet the representatives of the churches and to consider the question of securing the settlement of a minister from England."²⁴⁴ Reporting on this endeavour, the BU Executive stated in the following year that five ministers arrived. These were: Rev H. L. Staines for Observatory Road, Rev P. Lowe²⁴⁵ for the Missionary Society, Rev F. G. West for Pietermaritzburg, Rev J. J. Doke for Grahamstown, and the Rev E. B. Sayers for East London. And "Three of these, the Revs H. L. Staines, P. Lowe and E. B. Sayers, are the choice of the Aid Society, in whose hands the selection of men for the spheres they now occupy was placed. The calls for Rev F. G. West and J. J. Doke went through the same channel."²⁴⁶ Summing up its gratitude for the initial assistance from the Aid Society, the BU Executive reported: "The Aid Society has proved its title by the help it has given us during the year. In the choice of men it has rendered yeoman service; and the financial assistance has been a source of much encouragement. The expenses of the passage of two Ministers were defrayed by it, and £240 has in addition been paid into our funds."²⁴⁷

In the years following, the influx of ministers from England, or rather, from "home," into South Africa continued through the assistance of the Aid Society. In 1904, for example, two new ministers, "Rev R. R. Miller and Rev G. Thomas were selected by our brethren at home for the position they now occupy. The passage money of each was paid by the Aid Society."²⁴⁸ Also in 1909, there is another report of "two brethren who have joined our

²⁴⁴ Minutes of 1902 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 149.

²⁴⁵ This is the same Lowe, a graduate of Harley College, who also took a short medical course at Livingstone College, and later became missionary between Cacadu and Mpotula from which he could visit Buffalo Thorns and assist during the furlough of Mr Eve (Annual Report of SABMS for 1903, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 22.). According to the Report of the BU Executive to the 1904 BU Assembly, Rev Eve, who was in England on furlough, "did considerable deputation work in our interests, and the Aid Society, in recognition of his help, voted £30 towards his work, with the note that at least one third of this was earmarked for Mr Eve's work by the contributors. Another gift of £50 was earmarked by a contributor for the Troyeville Church." (Report of BU Executive to the Twenty-Sixth Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, pp. 33-34.).

²⁴⁶ Report of BU Executive to the Twenty-Fifth Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 11.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

²⁴⁸ Report of BU Executive to the Twenty-Sixth Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 33.

ranks"²⁴⁹ even though they are not mentioned by name. Also worth mentioning is that the former BU Secretary, "Rev H. L. Staines, now [1910] in England, has had in addition to the deputation work the whole Secretarial duties of the Aid Society to perform on account of the serious illness of the devoted Howard Henson, who has worked so hard for South Africa. We are glad to learn that Mr Henson has returned to London much improved in health, and there may be a resurrection of the official work later. Mr Staines ... whether in office or not, he means to serve our cause as best as he can. Our thanks are due to him and to the Society through him."²⁵⁰ The perception by European Baptists of the early 19th century South African context contributed to the acceleration of the bringing out of European ministers from England to work as missionaries among the natives. An extract from the Report of the Missionary Society of 1906-1907, for example, summarizes these perceptions of the natives, which had, of course, political undertones, in the sense, firstly, that the native was perceived to be in perpetual need of a white person's guidance. Secondly, that fellow whites in the Baptist Church, when going to the polls, should only support a candidate who was against the removal of, or any weakening of the restriction of, the sale or supply of liquor to the natives. The extract reads as follows:

All the reports from our Mission Centres depict the terrible hindrance to all our work and the curse, which rests upon the Native peoples through the increasing drinking habits of the people. This appears to be particularly noticeable among those who have been away for periods of employment in European towns. The taste acquired at such times for "white man's liquors" is not diminished on their return to their homes in native territories, with the result that Kafir beer means Kafir beer plus brandy with the orgies accompanying which defy description. And yet what the Missionaries do describe suggest scenes from Dante's Inferno. Notwithstanding this, the closing days of the last Cape Colony Parliament were devoted to the consideration and the largely expressed desire to make it possible by legal enactment that

²⁴⁹ Report of BU Executive to the Thirtieth Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1908-1909, p. 8.

²⁵⁰ Report of the BU Executive to the Thirty-First Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook of 1909-1910, p. 12. Two years before, the SABMS had expressed its gratitude to the Aid Society in light of "the interest of those who take interest in the Homeland [being] unabated. To Mr Henson, the Committee, and all helpers across the sea we would again express our heartiest thanks. Whether the gifts in the hands across the sea be small or great, the hands of the receivers and givers grasp in a common sympathy and a common service, and the thrill through contact is more than the gift." (Report of the Missionary Society for 1906-1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 32.) Furthermore, during the 1909 BU Assembly, the president read a telegram from Rev H. L. Staines announcing that £100 had been raised for the Missionary Society Special Fund. (Minutes of 1909 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 24.)

restrictions should be removed, and that increased facilities should be granted to the native for the purchase of intoxicants. In the Transvaal it was also owing to strong protest that the Bill for similar facilities for workers along the Rand was withdrawn. Such legislation may mean the prosperity of the few, but it spells ruin of the native people. Any candidate seeking our suffrages should be supported only on condition of giving satisfactory personal pledges to vote against the removal of or any weakening of the restriction of the sale or supply of liquor to the natives, and generally to fight against such an attitude of treating the native problem which in its working will get rid of the native.²⁵¹

In 1910 a major change occurred in the history of the Aid Society. In the *Report of the BU Executive to the 1911 BU Assembly*, it was noted that: "The old Aid Society, whose work has been so helpful to us in South Africa, has been merged into the Baptist Colonial Society, so as to embrace in its efforts all the Colonies. That our interests may be protected it has decided for a period of years to apportion £500 of its income to our work as a first charge, out of which a proportion will be deducted."²⁵² This would make possible the continuation of Rev H. L. Staines as "Secretary of the larger Society, [who] manifests heretofore the greatest interest in all that concerns us in South Africa and is ever ready to attend to anything which will serve our interests."²⁵³ In addition, at the suggestion of Rev Staines "many of the churches in the United Kingdom have agreed on a Colonial Sunday, when special reference will be made to the work and needs of the Colonies."²⁵⁴

Following the formation of the new body, the Baptist Colonial Society, the requests from the Baptists in the South African colony continued as before. That is, applications for financial aid from the churches and requests to assist ministers and missionaries from England to settle in South Africa. The first request since the formation of this new body was made during the 1910 BU Assembly held at Pietermaritzburg, at which it was "suggested to appeal to the Colonial Aid Society to select two young men for work along the Rand and to guarantee their support for a period."²⁵⁵ Following this appeal, in 1910, the receipts and the disbursement of

²⁵¹ Report of the Missionary Society for 1906-1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, pp. 32-33.

²⁵² Report of the BU Executive to the 32nd Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, pp. 8-9.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ Minutes of 1910 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 28.

funds became recorded in BU minutes in subsequent years. For example, in 1911, £325.2s.8d. was received and disbursed to the churches. In 1915, these funds from the Baptist Colonial Society had for the first time a detailed statement of receipts and expenditure. This statement is very useful because it further indicates who were the beneficiaries of these funds, particularly in the case of the SABMS. For example, of the total £202.3s.0d., which was allocated to the SABMS in 1915, the money was distributed in the following manner: Kafulafuta (£8.2s.0d.), Kundula (£3.1s.0d.), Tsolokazi (£24), and General Fund (£167).²⁵⁶ This means, that apart from besides these three native areas, this money catered primarily for European missionaries since most of it was disbursed through the SABMS's General Fund, which was for the European workers.

This pattern continued in the following years, this time with specific mentions of the European missionaries who received these funds.²⁵⁷ To keep funds coming in, Rev H. L. Staines continued representing the South African Baptists "at the Church House in London."²⁵⁸ And as before, also in 1927, the BU was "indebted to the Colonial Society in London for an amount of £127.5s.9d. sent forward during the year, to be distributed as follows: Union Funds £105.3s.9d; Missionary Funds £21; earmarked for St Helena £1; and 2s. to the BWA."²⁵⁹ This, according to the BU minutes, was due to the "[Colonial] Society's continued interest and support, and for all the work of the Rev H. L. Staines, the Secretary in maintaining the interest and keeping the needs of our Churches in the Overseas Dominions before the Churches in the Home Country, [for which] we tender them our sincere and hearty thanks."²⁶⁰ By the close of 1927, like the previous years, that the BU Executive only reported on the Colonial Society about the funds it had received for which, it "again [was] grateful ...

²⁵⁶ Statement of Receipts and Expenditure in connection with the Baptist Colonial Society, October, 1914, to September, 1915, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 50.

²⁵⁷ See for example: Statement of Receipts and Expenditure in connection with the Baptist Colonial Society, October, 1915, to September, 1916, in BU Handbook for 1915-1916, p. 40.

²⁵⁸ Report of the BU Executive to the 39th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1917-1919, p. 10. See also Report of the BU Executive to the 43rd Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, pp. 11-12.

²⁵⁹ Report of the BU Executive to the Jubilee Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 6.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

to the Baptist Colonial Society in London for its continued interest and support.”²⁶¹ These funds were “a sum of £157.1s.9d. [of which] £134.16s.9d. [was] for Union Funds, £22.1s.0d. for the Missionary Funds, and 4s. for the BWA.”²⁶² But as will later²⁶³ be observed, this Fund, which intentionally had the word “colonial” in its title, remained true to the meaning of the word. In 1943 it changed its name to the Baptist Commonwealth and Colonial Aid Society. That is, since its name had changed from the Colonial Aid Society (1903), to the Baptist Colonial Society (1910), then to Baptist Commonwealth and Colonial Aid Society (1943).

6.3.3. The Loan Fund (1904) and the Meyer Loan Fund (1912)

In 1904, during the BU Assembly, a decision was reached to “welcome the proposals of the Aid Society to form a Loan Fund, and the [BU] Executive was authorized to make the necessary arrangements for a loan of £5,000, and to administer the same.”²⁶⁴ At the following year’s Assembly, “a Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the administration of a Loan Fund to be raised by the Aid Society, and to arrange for guarantors:- Messrs. Greenwood White (Convener). E. Pickering, T. H. Grocott, H. Schmidt, C. E. Nelson, and G. W. Blackburn.”²⁶⁵ The Committee subsequently presented a *Report*, recommending firstly: “That the offer of the Aid Society be adopted, provided the money can be obtained in amounts of £500 or multiples of £500 as required.”²⁶⁶ Secondly: “That representations be made to the Aid Society that, for the purpose of relieving some of our existing Churches who are paying high rates of interest on their buildings, the administrators of the funds should have discretion to advance sums to these Churches on the security of their immovable property.”²⁶⁷ Lastly: “That the administration of the funds be vested in the guarantors with

²⁶¹ Joint Executive Reports to the Annual Assembly at Queenstown, September 12th to 18th, 1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 6.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ See Chapter 8.

²⁶⁴ Minutes of 1904 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 38.

²⁶⁵ Minutes of 1905 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 64.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

three members of the Executive. The President promised to endeavour to secure the form of guarantee as required by the Aid Society.²⁶⁸

Briefly, the Loan Fund, therefore, was formed to provide loans to churches in order that they should avoid high rates of interest on loans from outside the Baptist Church. It is needless to mention, however, that these loans were only for European Churches – from the Colonial Aid Society. This Fund, though, was not to be reported on again in the subsequent assemblies. But this does not mean that the European churches were no longer assisted financially. On the contrary, they did receive these loans - as reflected in a number of church reports. But in 1912, in the report by the BU Executive to the Assembly appeared another fund which had loaned money to the churches. This was the Meyer Loan Fund. According to the report, “this Fund has been completed by the generosity of Rev Dr Meyer and now stands at £1,000. The three churches benefiting by the Fund [are]: Plein Street, Troyeville and Observatory.”²⁶⁹

But these churches were the only beneficiaries in the first seven years of this fund. The fund's records contain only the reports, though inconsistent, of the funds repaid. For example, in 1919, an amount of £122.19s.5d.,²⁷⁰ was received. During the same year's BU Assembly, Mr Riemer was “asked to take charge of the Meyer Loan, and the 100,000 Shillings Funds, and relieve the [Baptist] Union Treasurer of that work.”²⁷¹ Subsequently, in the following year, 1920, and for the first time, appeared a detailed statement of the Fund's revenue and expenditure. According to the statement, the total revenue for the fund was £1,174.18s.1d., which was distributed as follows: £1,030.0s.0d. (loans to churches), £105.12s.11d. (saved in the United Building Society Savings Bank), and £39.5s.2d. (saved in Standard Bank).²⁷² Also in 1921 appeared the Fund's statement of revenue and expenditure. The total revenue was £1,208.0s.8d., which was apportioned thus: £885.0s.0d (loans to

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Report of the BU Executive to the 34th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 7. See also: Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, October 1st, 1911, to 30th September, 1912, showing amounts received from and paid to Churches, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 29.

²⁷⁰ Baptist Union of South Africa Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, October 1st 1912 to September 30th, 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 27.

²⁷¹ Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1917-1919, p. 27. (Owing to the First World War, the BU Handbook for 1917-1918 was not produced, thus the BU Handbook for 1917-1919.).

²⁷² Baptist Union Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year 1st October, 1918 to 30th September, 1919, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 49.

churches), £312.13.8d. (saved in United Building Society Savings Bank), £3.8s.0d. (saved in Standard Bank), and £6.19s.0d (interest in suspense).²⁷³ In the following year, 1921, the Fund's revenue slightly increased to £1,247.13s.11d.²⁷⁴ compared to the previous year. But from 1922 onwards, no report on the Fund appeared. This was possibly due to the Baptist Union Trust Fund stemming from two years earlier (1920), under which most funds were merged.

6.3.4. Formation of the 100,000 Shillings Fund (1911)

A year before the formation of the Meyer Loan Fund in 1912, another fund to generate capital for the Baptist Union was formed. This was the 100,000 Shillings Fund. The Fund was inaugurated during the 1911 BU Assembly in Kimberley, whereat it was resolved that the Fund be "for extension work, it being understood that one-third of the amount raised be devoted to the Pension Fund and two-thirds to new work to be undertaken by the [Baptist] Union. The Fund to be completed in two years."²⁷⁵ Somewhat inconsistently with the tradition of the BU Assembly, that is, though the Assembly never decided who would form the committee of this Fund, but under the list of officers and committees for the years 1911-1912, the names of Revs T. Perry, E. Baker and C. H. Clapp are listed in connection with this Fund.²⁷⁶ Regarding it, the BU Executive, in its *Addenda to Executive Report for 1912 BU Assembly* mentioned in one of the motions sent forward: "That if possible something in the way of a scheme should be shadowed forth so that before the 1913 Assembly the Churches might have definite proposals before them."²⁷⁷ The motion seemed to have been passed at the Assembly even though there is no record of this resolution. This is because this Fund, which was to have been completed in two years, was actually to exist until 1920, as will be observed below.

²⁷³ Baptist Union Meyer Loan Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year 1st October, 1919 to 30th September, 1920, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 64. (Owing to the First World War, the BU Handbook for 1920-1921 was not produced, thus the BU Handbook for 1920-1922.).

²⁷⁴ Baptist Union Meyer Loan Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year 1st October, 1920 to 30th September, 1921, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 65.

²⁷⁵ Minutes of 1911 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 21.

²⁷⁶ List of Officers and Committees for the Years 1911-1912, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 4.

²⁷⁷ Addenda to BU Executive Report to the 34th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 9.

By the end of the 1912 BU financial year, the fund had already accumulated capital, of £153.17s.0d., which was deposited in the bank.²⁷⁸ In the following year, 1913, receipts grew to £685.6s.5d. out of which £599.15s.0d. was spent.²⁷⁹ In the same year, the BU Executive hinted, though indirectly, at who the officers of this Fund were, in particular Rev Perry. It briefly mentioned: "The temporary breakdown in health of our beloved Brother Rev T. Perry, who had been our special advocate of the 100,000 Shillings Fund, to which he had given much thought and effort."²⁸⁰ A few years lapsed without any report on the Fund until 1917, during the BU Assembly, when it was proposed by Rev Ennals and seconded by Mr Sloane, and then approved by the Assembly: "That the Executive be authorized to allocate £500 to £600 for new work in the Rand whenever they consider the time opportune, subject to the conditions of the [100,000 Shillings] Fund, viz., as a loan at a low rate of interest to be determined by the Executive."²⁸¹

As discussed before, Riemer was once asked to take charge of the Meyer Loan Fund. In 1919, he was also asked to do the same with the 100,000 Shillings Fund.²⁸² As he did with the Meyer Loan Fund which, since he started overseeing it, had for the first time a statement of revenue and expenditure, the same occurred with the Shillings Fund. The financial statement showed that the Fund had a revenue of £1,135.1s.2d. which was distributed as: £50 (loan to SABMS), £391.19s.7d. (loan to BU), £408.1s.7d. (fixed deposit at United Building Society), £282.9s.9d. (cash at United Building Saving Bank), and £2.10s.3d. (cash at Standard Bank).²⁸³ In the subsequent years, the Fund's assets increased from 1,208.12s.2d. (in 1920)²⁸⁴ to £1,225.2s.5d. (in 1921).²⁸⁵ But like the Meyer Loan Fund, which came to a

²⁷⁸ Baptist Union of South Africa Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, October 1st, 1911 to September 30th, 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 31.

²⁷⁹ Baptist Union Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, October 1st, 1912, to September 30th, 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 26.

²⁸⁰ Report of the BU Executive to the 35th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 3.

²⁸¹ Minutes of 1918 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1916-1917, p. 22.

²⁸² Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1917-1919, p. 27. (Owing to the First World War, the BU Handbook for 1917-1918 was not produced, thus the BU Handbook for 1917-1919.).

²⁸³ Baptist Union Shilling Fund Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the year 1st October, 1918 to 30th September, 1919, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 48.

²⁸⁴ Baptist Union Shilling Fund Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the year 1st October, 1919 to 30th September, 1920, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 62. (Owing to the First World War, the BU Handbook for 1920-1921 was not produced, thus the BU Handbook for 1920-1922.).

close immediately after the 1921 BU financial year as a result of the formation of the BU Trust Fund in 1922, the 100,000 Shillings Fund was also incorporated into the BU Trust Fund.

6.3.5. Formation of the Jubilee Fund (1927)

Various forms of colonial celebrations in the colonial frontier were part of maintaining colonial culture in the midst of the “kaffirs” barbarity and lack of civilization. European church celebrations were very much interwoven with such celebrations or vice versa.²⁸⁶ Many preparations were made amongst Europeans for these celebrations. The Jubilee Fund, in this case, was part of such celebrations in the Baptist context. In 1927, the Baptist Church of South Africa celebrated fifty years of its existence since the founding of the Baptist Union in 1877. Preparations for this celebration commenced as early as 1925, during which, in its Assembly, the BU Secretary “outlined what had been done so far in connection with the arrangements for the celebration of the Jubilee of the [Baptist] Union.”²⁸⁷ He submitted the following as the BU Executive’s recommendation:

That the Jubilee Assembly be held at Cape Town in conjunction with the Jubilee of the Cape Town Church in 1927, and that the Baptist Union of Great Britain be asked to send a deputation to visit our churches and take part in the celebrations in Cape Town, the Home Union to be asked to bear the expense of the deputation to Cape Town and back, and our Union to bear the expense of their tour of our churches.²⁸⁸

The Assembly approved and “confirmed [the celebrations], and [added] that the matter of all further arrangements in connection therewith be left in all their hands.”²⁸⁹ In 1927, during the Assembly, Rev Garratt reported and submitted plans for the raising of a Jubilee Fund of £3,500. The Assembly resolved unanimously that: “This Assembly of the Baptist Union meeting in Cape Town on September 14th, 1927, hereby resolves that a special Jubilee Fund be raised to augment the capital of the Baptist Union Pension Fund, in order to meet the

²⁸⁵ Baptist Union Shilling Fund Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the year 1st October, 1920 to 30th September, 1921, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 63.

²⁸⁶ See Chapter 2.

²⁸⁷ Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 26.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

deficiency revealed in the Actuarial report submitted at the 1926 Assembly.²⁹⁰ Further, "That the amount of the special Jubilee Fund be not less than £3,500, any monies raised over that amount to be placed to an Emergency Fund which may be used for meeting the necessity of any [European] Minister, Missionary, or Minister's or Missionary's widow at the discretion of the Committee controlling the Pension Fund."²⁹¹

In order to raise the £3,500 amount, an eight points plan was also approved, as follows: "That a chief Commissioner be appointed whose duty shall be to supervise the whole organization for raising this fund; That a local Commissioner be appointed in each individual Church, whose duty shall be to organize propaganda and collect donations in his or her Church; That the slogan for this campaign shall be 'Sixpence per member for the next three years'; That each Church shall be supplied with a chart representing Nehemiah's wall, each brick of which shall represent an amount decided, and may be filled in when that amount has been reached. (Nehemiah II, 18.); That a reproduction of the above chart be published each month in the *South African Baptist* showing the amount raised to date, and by which one may correct the local charts; That the details of the plan of campaign for the raising of this Fund be referred to a special Committee which shall confer with the Pension Fund Committee; That the necessary expense incurred in raising this Fund be met from the Fund itself, provided that the amount is sanctioned by the Pension Fund Management Committee; and That Dr W. Y. Fullerton's traveling companion present the scheme to each Church visited and arrange (whenever possible) for the appointment of the local Commissioner."²⁹²

Also at this Assembly, of 1927, the Jubilee Fund Committee was appointed, and it consisted of "Chief Commissioner (Rev C. Garratt), Revs E. Baker, H. J. Batts, A. Ittermann, Messrs E. V. Baker, F. E. Blackwell, and W. Chappell."²⁹³ The first contribution to the Fund was "one of £100 from Mr A. E. Lacey, Bibeford, England, through our Life President who also promised £50 on behalf of himself and Mrs Batts."²⁹⁴ Among other gifts was "a sum of £150 from the B.W.A., and £100 from an anonymous donor, and altogether gifts and promises

²⁹⁰ Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 34.

²⁹¹ Ibid

²⁹² Ibid., pp. 34-35.

²⁹³ Ibid., p. 35.

²⁹⁴ Ibid

amounting to £1,303 were announced in the Assembly to start the Fund.”²⁹⁵ The following year, the BU Executive in its report to the Assembly announced that according to “Rev C. Garratt, who was appointed the Chief Commissioner of the Fund, ... over £2,000 has been given or promised.”²⁹⁶ Furthermore, that the BWA has “directed its efforts mainly to the Jubilee Fund, towards which it has contributed £120.3s.2d.”²⁹⁷

The commitment to make this Fund a success was indicated by the increasing contributions. For example, at the 1928 BU Assembly “promises amounting to £736 required to complete the stated sum of £3,500 were handed in amidst much enthusiasm, and the Assembly rose and sang the Doxology.”²⁹⁸ Interestingly, receipts (£776.8s.8d.)²⁹⁹ exceeded these promises (£736). In the following year, receipts were £1,462.1s.1d.³⁰⁰ Thus, during the 1930 BU Assembly, Rev Garratt reported “the practical completion of the Fund, an announcement which led the Assembly to rise and sing the Doxology as an expression of its gratitude to God for the success attained.”³⁰¹ Furthermore, “this Assembly desires reverently and gratefully to place upon the record its faith that God’s blessings have been upon it from its inception to its close.”³⁰² By way of reconnaissance, the Assembly also recorded:

In order to mark the Jubilee of the [Baptist] Union the Assembly in 1927 determined to raise £3,500 to complete the Ministers’ Pension Fund and do this in three years. Our [Baptist] Union and the Missionary Funds were straitened at the time and many fears were entertained concerning the effect of this special effort upon these. With deep thankfulness we record the receipt of £3,360 with £450 in promises outstanding (the major portion of which we believe will be redeemed) and that during that period none of our other funds have suffered depletion, but rather have shown a slight growth. We register our appreciation for every gift, of the spirit of sacrifice vouchsafed to our people, of the loyal help of Churches, Associations, and Committees, but we desire especially to thank the Rev C. Garratt for the leadership he gave to this task. As the Lord called by name Bezaleel and gave him wisdom and understanding for

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Joint Executive Reports to the Annual Assembly at Queenstown, September 12th to 19th, 1928, in BU Handbook of 1928-1929, p. 1.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁹⁸ Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 23.

²⁹⁹ Baptist Union Jubilee Fund Financial Statement as at 30th June, 1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 50.

³⁰⁰ Baptist Union Jubilee Fund Financial Statement for the year ending 30th June, 1929, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 45.

³⁰¹ Minutes of 1930 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 23.

³⁰² Ibid.

the work of the tabernacle, so we believe the Lord called our brother to be the Commissioner of this Fund, and endowed him with the spirit of love and of a sound mind to lead us to the victory which we celebrate this day.³⁰³

Following the above, the Assembly then resolved: "That the Jubilee Fund Committee be heartily thanked for all their work in connection with the Fund and be now discharged."³⁰⁴ Baptist women, through the BWA, confirmed that they would raise money for this Fund, including in the final year when the Fund's committee was discharged. For example, by the year ending 30th June 1930, they had contributed £140.4s.5d. to the Fund.³⁰⁵ The success of this Fund, among other Funds' successes, is a clear indication that the European Baptists were willing to raise money for the sustenance of European ministers and missionaries. A parallel question is: Were the native (black) Baptists willing to do the same for the sustenance of native ministers and evangelists? The answer is a definite yes! A further question is: Did they have adequate means to further this objective? Definitely not. Furthermore, native Baptists, including both the ministers and the laity, were unfortunately under a structure (BU) that cared little about them. A related question is: Why didn't they leave the BU? Some in fact tried though others, being the majority, remained behind.³⁰⁶

Six years later, after the completion of the Jubilee Fund, the successes of the fund and the BU's Jubilee celebrations that went with it, were still felt to the extent that in 1936, when the BWA celebrated its own Jubilee, it gave the BU a gift of £500. The Assembly further noted with "gratitude that [it] is a lively sense of favours to come that the BWA hopes to raise this amount to One Thousand Pounds in the near future."³⁰⁷ The condition accompanying this amount explicitly stated that this amount is for "our European Churches."³⁰⁸ It read: "The [Baptist] Union gladly accepts the conditions upon which the gift is made; namely that the amount is to be placed in the Baptist Union Sustentation and Trust Fund, and the interest only be used for the payment of grants towards the support of the Ministry in our European

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Baptist Union Jubilee Fund Financial Statement for the year ending 30th June 1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 49.

³⁰⁶ See Chapter 5.

³⁰⁷ Minutes of 1936 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 70.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

Churches, and that the BWA expects to be consulted in the event of any contemplated change in the [Baptist] Union's financial arrangements regarding such grants."³⁰⁹ Further, it was at this very Assembly that a number of other resolutions were passed, in particular concerning ministerial education. These resolutions were understood to be for the purpose of safeguarding the intellectual part of the Baptist ministry.³¹⁰

6.4. BU Administrative funds

6.4.1. Formation of the Baptist Union Trust Fund (1920)

The many funds discussed above, which were established in order to generate capital for BU, did generate this capital but at the same time led to a proliferation of resources, whether administrative or financial. Thus, there was no doubt that a tighter co-ordination of these funds was needed in order to avoid duplication. This resulted in 1920, in the formation of the BU Trust Fund, which was an amalgamation of three funds. These were: "the Meyer Loan Fund, 100,000 Shillings Fund and the Centenary Fund - less the one-fifth due to the Pension Fund [to] be amalgamated into one Fund called the Baptist Union Trust Fund."³¹¹ This decision was reached during the 1920 BU Assembly at which it was also decided that the new Fund would be administered by the Executive of the Baptist Union. Also at this assembly, and a point worth noting, is that "the interest derived from this Fund shall be used primarily for Ministerial Sustentation purposes, and any other purposes that may be decided by the Executive."³¹² In order for the Fund to sustain itself, "an interest of 5% per annum shall be charged on all loans."³¹³ In addition, "That provision shall be made in all loans that the capital shall be repaid at the rate of 10% per annum, provided that in special instances, at the discretion of the Executive the rate of payment may be smaller, but in no case shall it be less than 5% per annum."³¹⁴ But interest alone was not the only means by which the fund could generate capital. As well, the Fund "shall be capable of receiving hereafter any donations, bequests etc."³¹⁵ The same Assembly also passed the decision that Mr F. E.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ See Chapter 7.

³¹¹ Minutes of 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 31.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

Blackwell be appointed Treasurer of the new Fund, in succession to Mr Riemer who had administered the other three funds, which had now formed the BU Trust Fund.

By 30th June 1922, in the first BU Trust Fund financial statement, the three funds: Meyer Loan Fund, 100,000 Shillings Fund and the Centenary Fund were recorded as the main generators of capital for the BU Trust Fund. That is, out of the total revenue of £3,483.19s.11d., the (founding) three funds had contributed the following respectively: Centenary Fund (£721.18s.7d.), Meyer Loan Fund (£1,247.13s.11d.) and the Shilling Fund (£1,255.2s.5d.).³¹⁶ Regarding the assets of this Trust Fund, most of the money went into loans to churches (£1,566.14s.3d), loans to the Baptist Union (£831.19s.7d.), and a loan to the BU Book Depot (£60), while £700 went to a fixed deposit at the United Building Society, among other deposits. But interestingly, during the 1923 BU Assembly, the Fund's interest loan clause was amended in order to ease the financial burden of the European churches - the beneficiaries of this Fund. The new amendment read: "That provision shall be made in all loans that the capital shall be repaid at the rate of 10% per annum, provided that in special instances, at the discretion of the Executive the rate of repayment may be smaller, or the repayment may be suspended for such period as the Executive may determine."³¹⁷ Like the other funds discussed above, the European Baptists' commitment to the success of this Fund was also evident. For example, in the financial statement of the year ending 30th June 1923, there is a record of a family donation (£33.3s.8d.), a third instalment, from Mr and Mrs W. Chapman.³¹⁸

By 1924, the Fund had a revenue of £3,399.18s.9d. and like the previous years, most of its assets were in the form of loans (£2,545.4s.3d.) to churches.³¹⁹ The same was the case in 1925, the year during which there was a revenue of £3,373.1s.6d., while assets were valued

³¹⁶ BU Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the period 1st October, 1921, to 30th June, 1922, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 54.

³¹⁷ Minutes of 1923 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 38.

³¹⁸ BU Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for year ending 30th June 1923, in Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 66.

³¹⁹ BU Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for year ending 30th June 1924, in Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 56.

at £3,584.1s.9d., of which £2,735.13s.10d. was spent in loans to the churches.³²⁰ But in 1926, for the first time since the inception of this Fund, the revenue was the lowest ever at £150.14s.6d, though its assets were £3,487.3s.11d. And like the previous years, most of these assets were in the form of loans (£3,349.1s.10d.) to churches, with cash of only £138.2s.1d. saved with the United Building Society and Standard Bank, respectively.³²¹

As was the case with other funds which changed their names in the course of their history, this fund did well. It was during the 1927 BU Assembly, the Assembly at which the Bantu Baptist Church (BBC) was inaugurated,³²² that "the name of the Baptist Union Trust Fund [was] changed to the Baptist Union Sustentation and Trust Fund."³²³ One should remember that the first fund in the Baptist Church of South Africa was the Sustentation Fund. This fund was formed in 1874, three years prior to the formation of the BU, in 1877. It was the purpose of this fund to sustain ministers in the colonial frontier, therefore, the later addition of the phrase "sustentation" to the name of the BU Trust Fund resonates well with the history of these funds in the colonial context. Furthermore, 1927, the year when the phrase "sustentation" was added onto the name and purpose of this fund, was the same year when through the BBC, the black ministers and churches in the Baptist Church were informed that they should develop themselves, although under "European guidance and stored experience."

The same Assembly also resolved that "Rev Ernest Baker in his capacity as President, the Rev Thomas Aitken in his capacity as Secretary, and Mr Henry Schmidt in his capacity as Treasurer, having been duly elected to their respective offices, be the Trustees of the Union in accordance with Rule VIII of the Constitution."³²⁴ By the close of 1927, the Fund's assets were £3,529.6s.11d., out of which £2,941.15s.9d. was in the shape of loans to churches, the

³²⁰ BU Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for year ending 30th June 1925, in *Handbook for 1925-1926*, p. 58.

³²¹ BU Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for year ending 30th June 1926, in *Handbook for 1926-1927*, p. 39.

³²² See Chapter 5.

³²³ Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1927-1928*, p. 33.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36. The rule read: "The President, the General Secretary, and the Treasurer of the Union, and their successors in office shall be the Trustees of the Baptist Union of South Africa in furtherance of, and in accordance with clauses 2, 4, and 9 in Rule IV." (Constitution of the Baptist Union of South Africa amended in 1921, in *BU Handbook for 1920-1922*, p. 51.). See also Volume Three (Appendices) for the same document.

BU and the Book Depot.³²⁵ Also in the same year, the fund – under the new name – listed in its financial statement the total value of those loans charged at 5% and those at 2½%; – a decision which was approved at the 1923 BU Assembly. This was the first step, of a number to follow, which were also meant to make the Fund “more available,”³²⁶ as shall later³²⁷ be observed. Also to be observed is how this Fund, in 1936, in a similar manner, encompassed the SABMS Trust Fund, the Transvaal Building Fund and the Rhodesian Fund.

6.4.2. Formation of the Rhodesian Fund (1923)

Prior to discussing this Fund, it is useful to present a brief background to the South African Baptists’ mission work in Rhodesia, which started as early as 1896. As argued before,³²⁸ mission work in the colonial frontier went hand in hand with the acquisition of land. For example, in the first report of the Northern Committee (a SABMS Committee overseeing mission work in Rhodesia) to the 1896 BU Assembly, one reads that “Our American brethren, Messrs Francis and Rostron, who have undertaken missionary work in Bulawayo and neighbourhood, have succeeded in securing two stands in the above named township. On one of these stands they have erected a two-roomed cottage for which they are receiving rent. The Title Deeds have been drawn out and the property secured for the Baptist Union of South Africa.”³²⁹ But by November 1895, the work had to be suspended as Mr Francis had proceeded to New York for the purpose of “conferring with his friends in that city in relation to the work in Bulawayo, and Mr Rostron is at present in Capetown awaiting instruction from America in relation to the Mission in Matebeleland.”³³⁰

In the same year that Messrs Rostron and Francis suspended the work, Mr Eales arrived in Salisbury on August 11th, “after a journey of nine weeks duration, and was joined by his wife and seven sons in January of the present [1896] year.”³³¹ Soon after his arrival, he secured

³²⁵ Baptist Union Sustentation and Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the Year ending 30th June, 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 64.

³²⁶ Executive Reports for the Year 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, pp. 3-4.

³²⁷ See Chapter 8.

³²⁸ See Chapter 4.

³²⁹ Report of the Northern Committee, in BU Handbook for 1896-1897, p. 50.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Ibid.

"two good stands in Salisbury, one for a Church and the other for the missionary's residence."³³² Furthermore:

Soon after this has been done he learned that a stand with a good brick building on it, in one of the most central parts of the town, was to be sold by auction. He attended the sale and purchased the property for £535. The stand of 110ft. by 60. This building affords living accommodation for our missionary and his family, and it also contains a room 28ft. by 19 in which to hold religious services, and in this room Divine worship is now conducted regularly. In addition to this Mr Eales has secured a farm for the mission of 2,420 morgen, which is situated about 15 miles out of Salisbury. Here then we have in our Northern Mission five stands and one farm, all of which are made over to trustees for the Baptist Union of South Africa. But as we are not likely to require the three stands in Salisbury for some time to come, we have advised our Agent there to sell one of the stands in order to assist us to pay for the stand on which a building has been erected, which building is now used for the twofold purpose of a dwelling and a place of worship.³³³

This was the beginning of South African Baptist mission work in Rhodesia. But Mr Eales had thus far "been labouring mainly among the white population of the city, but he has been, and still is, preparing for what we hope will prove efficient work among the Natives."³³⁴ In addition, he "is trying very hard to acquire a knowledge of the Mashona language, and in this he has so far succeeded as to be able to translate a portion of the Gospel by John into that language."³³⁵

It is interesting to note that, regarding this work commenced by Mr Eales in Salisbury, the BU in its financial records called it the: "Baptist Union Industrial Mission, Rhodesia."³³⁶ Under it, among some of the receipts recorded is an amount of £178.17s.2d. collected in England by Revs Hughes and Batts, and a donation of £100 from "The Rt. Honourable C. J. Rhodes."³³⁷ But in 1897, the Rhodesia mission plan came to a halt when the Assembly passed the resolution, after receiving a letter from Mr Eales, that "the Northern Committee be instructed to place the case of the Rev G. Eales and this Union into the hands of Messrs

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid., p. 51.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ See Baptist Union Industrial Mission, Rhodesia, in BU Handbook for 1896-1897, p. 57.

³³⁷ Ibid.

Frames and Grimmer, solicitors, with the view of selling the town stand acquired by purchase to pay our liabilities, and giving their opinion as to our indebtedness to Mr Eales, having regard to the agreement and its fulfillment or otherwise."³³⁸ In other words, Mr Eales was resigning from this work and requiring a financial settlement. Accompanying this resolution were the following four recommendations: Firstly, "That no salary be paid beyond the end of June, 1896, when Mr Eales acknowledges he gave up work, and all collections and donations received by him to be deducted there from."³³⁹ Secondly, "That an effort should be made to retain the stands in Salisbury and Banana Grove Farm. That if a sale is effected, it should be through Messrs Frames and Grimmer."³⁴⁰ Thirdly, "Before doing anything, a full statement should be received from Mr Eales; also of assets and disposition of transfers and deeds."³⁴¹ Lastly, "That these payments be made – interest, £34.19s.; Frames and Grimmer, £28.16s.; Deary, £15.19s.4d.; unpaid on property, £50."³⁴²

In the following year, 1897, the Assembly resolved "That the present Executive of the Baptist Union and all their successors in that capacity be appointed as Trustees for the Missionary Society property situated in Rhodesia, possessed or to be possessed."³⁴³ Furthermore, "That the Rev J. L. Gifford and Messrs J. George, Greenwood White, J. Stanley, and G. Neal be elected as a Committee to cooperate with the Baptist Missionary Committee to obtain titles to all property in Rhodesia, belonging to the S.A.B. Union, and also for conference regarding any liability or asset connected with the Baptist Union in that country."³⁴⁴ This resolution was also reiterated in the following year's Assembly.³⁴⁵ Given the settlement reached with Mr Eales two years earlier, financial resources on Rhodesian work seem to have returned to a sound footing since, during the 1898 Missionary Session, it was resolved that "the salaries of the Missionaries [in Northern Mission] be increased as recommended by the Committee."³⁴⁶

³³⁸ Northern Mission Report, in BU Handbook for 1897-1898, p., 28.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly of 1898, in BU Handbook for 1898-1899, p. 71.

³⁴⁴ Ibid. Also at this Session, "Thirteen documents connected with the Bulawayo property were handed to the Secretary to be deposited in the [Baptist] Union safe." (Ibid.).

³⁴⁵ See Minutes of the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly of 1899, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 64.

³⁴⁶ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly of 1898, in BU Handbook for 1898-1899, p. 71.

In 1902, the BU Assembly decided to apply for funding for European work in Rhodesia. This was to "the Baptist S.A.C.M.A.S. [South African Colonial and Missionary Aid Society] for £200."³⁴⁷ While the assembly, on the one hand, applied for financial assistance for European work, it decided on the other, "That the Northern Committee draft a scheme for native work in Rhodesia and place the same before the B.S.A.C.M.A.S., requesting it to approach the Arthington Trust for the necessary funds; and, in the event of the same being obtained correspond, with the [BU] Executive regarding suitable men."³⁴⁸ But the same assembly further passed another resolution which brought to an end the existence of the Northern Committee: "That the Missionary Committee be asked to take over the duties of the Northern Committee after their report has been received."³⁴⁹ This decision became the beginning of an "aggressive" missionary effort, by the South African Baptists in Rhodesia.

For a start, at the General Missionary Conference, held in Johannesburg from 5th to 11th July, 1907, at which the South African Baptists were represented by Rev Chapman, he reported the following:

In connection with the question of the areas of occupation, and especially in regard to the demarcation of Rhodesia, the Conference was informed of the possession by our Union of three farms situated respectively near Bulawayo, Laurencedale, and Banana Grove, near Salisbury; and that it was the intention of the [Baptist] Union to make these the basis of Missionary occupation, especially on the lines of Industrial Mission work. The Secretary of the Northern Missionary Conference emphasized the need of work in Northern Rhodesia, stated that this area was at present practically unoccupied, and urged our Society to take immediate steps to commence work in Banana Grove or Laurencedale. While thanking Rev T. Chapman for the services rendered as their representative, the Committee earnestly hopes that, either by the means of a successful application to the Arthington Trust, or by some other means, it may be possible to effectively occupy on the lines of Industrial Mission work in the area which Providence has placed in our hands ... where we are encouraged by the General Conference to enter and break up fallow ground; and at the same time to do something towards the accomplishment of the summation devoutly to be wished by some of us when by

³⁴⁷ Minutes of 1902 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 148.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

the construction of the present Cape to Cairo line the work of the great Baptist Missionary Society on the Congo and our own will join hands.³⁵⁰

However, in 1908, the BU Executive sold off its stands in Rhodesia,³⁵¹ although acquiring another industrial mission, in this case, the Nyasaland Industrial Mission, at Ndola, in 1913.³⁵² According to the Committee of the SABMS, "if the Society is to take upon itself responsibility for this new field in Rhodesia, there will be need for a strong assurance of the increased support of the Churches."³⁵³ This is because, "taking over this work will necessitate an increase of our annual income by some £600. Your Society's average annual expenditure for the three years ended September 30, 1912, not including the cost of the Pondoland Institute building, was £1,413.6s.6d. ... your income would need to be increased 42%."³⁵⁴ The money needed to cover the cost of this Pondoland work came forth, to the extent that new work in Rhodesia was initiated, particularly in Kafulafuta,³⁵⁵ Lambaland³⁵⁶ and Somabula,³⁵⁷ all of which are in the southern part of Rhodesia.

Eight years later, in 1920, the Rhodesian Committee presented a decisive report on the way forward regarding the South African Baptists' mission work in Rhodesia. Firstly, "That after hearing the report of the sub-Committee the Banana Grove and Bulawayo properties be sold as they are unsuitable for our purposes."³⁵⁸ Secondly, "That the money received by the sale of these properties be held in trust for work in Rhodesia."³⁵⁹ Thirdly, "That a request having been sent by the Somabula people for the appointment of a Minister we favourably entertain

³⁵⁰ Report of Missionary Society for 1905-1906, in BU Handbook for 1906-1907, pp. 40-41. Further, see also Chapter 2, for a discussion on the missionaries' understanding of space as moral geography.

³⁵¹ Minutes of 1908 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1908-1909, p. 21. See also Report of the BU Executive to the 31st Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 12.

³⁵² Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1913 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 33. The resolution read: "That this meeting, having received the Report of Mr Clement Doke of the visit of the Rev J. J. Doke to the Mission Field of the Nyasaland Industrial Mission, which has been proposed should be transferred to this Society, authorizes the new Committee to proceed with negotiations for the taking over of the work as soon as they have secured a capital amount as a Doke Memorial Fund, for the purchase of the properties of the Mission, and the assurance of the Churches of the necessary increase of the Society's income to provide for the annual support of the new work."

³⁵³ The 21st Annual Report of the SABMS Committee, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 43.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁵⁵ The 23rd Annual Report of the SABMS Committee, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 37.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³⁵⁷ The 31st Annual Report of the SABMS Committee, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 51.

³⁵⁸ Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 24.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

the suggestion and hereby request the Rev. J.F. Niebuhr to take charge of the proposed work, to form a Church, and generally to pioneer there with Gwelo as a centre."³⁶⁰ He is to be appointed with a "salary [to] be not less than £400 per annum."³⁶¹

Regarding this salary, it was agreed that "the Executive guarantee [it] for the first year, and that all subscriptions and collections at the services be remitted to the Union Treasurer."³⁶² In addition to his salary, Mr. Niebuhr's "travelling expenses [shall] be also met by the Union during his first year."³⁶³ Besides these, "special efforts [shall] be made for special expenditure by the people."³⁶⁴ To meet these expenses, "the necessary money [shall] be loaned from the 100,000 Shilling Fund at 2½ per cent rate of interest and that it be repaid in twelve years at most or sooner ... until interest accrues from the investment of the Rhodesian properties."³⁶⁵ To carry out these resolutions, a committee consisting of the Revs A.E. Brett, J.F. Niebuhr (to whom the new post was being offered) and Messrs T. Riemer and H. Schmidt was appointed to carry out negotiations in regard to the sale of the properties and re-investment of the proceeds.

Rev Niebuhr who was immediately appointed after the above resolutions were carried, did not work for long with the SABMS in Rhodesia, as in 1925 he resigned. Reporting on his resignation, the SABMS Committee reported that: "Since Rev J. Niebuhr ceased to be employed by the Baptist Union our work at Somabula has been continued by the evangelist Joseph Monama and his wife, and other arrangements for oversight are under consideration."³⁶⁶ Monama, unlike Niebuhr, who started working for the SABMS in Mashona and Matebeland as early as 1919, was reported to be "an educated Matebele, whose worth and work have been proved in our Kingwilliamstown Mission."³⁶⁷ According to the SABMS Committee: "We took it as a further proof that God wanted the Society to move in this direction, when a gentleman said: 'I willingly fall in with the idea of sending a Native

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

³⁶² *Ibid.*

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁶ The 32nd Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 15.

³⁶⁷ The 27th Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 41.

Evangelist to S. Rhodesia and will give £24 towards his first year's salary and £10 more for the travelling expenses."³⁶⁸ Monama was of great benefit to the Society as he is also reported to know "the country well, and speaks the Kaffir, Sesuto, and Matebele languages."³⁶⁹ And, "Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and with the help of Rev J. F. Niebuhr, who also is going to Rhodesia on pioneer work shortly [in 1920, as discussed above], we are expecting success."³⁷⁰

A year later, 1926, after the report that Rev Niebuhr had ceased to be employed by the SABMS in Rhodesia, Monama was reported to be still continuing the work in Southern Rhodesia.³⁷¹ In Northern Rhodesia (Lambaland), mission work continued under Mr Cross.³⁷² It is against this backdrop that the Rhodesian Fund came into existence: acquisition of many acres of land, although some were later dispensed with; unsuccessful settlement of European Baptist missionaries in Rhodesia; and money raised both in South Africa and overseas for work in Rhodesia. The land acquired and the money raised from the sale of some of these large areas of land became the revenue and assets of the Rhodesian Fund.

By the close of the 1926 financial year, in June, the Fund had assets to the value of £2,779.10s.8d., most of which was by loans on mortgage (£2,510.0s.0d.). From this, £100 was loaned to the Trust Fund.³⁷³ The close of the following financial year saw similar figures. That is, out of the total assets of £2,958.7s.4d., an amount of £2,410.0s.0d. was by loans on mortgage. But this time, no amount was loaned to the Trust Fund.³⁷⁴ This type of annual report on the Rhodesian Fund remained the same until 1944³⁷⁵ – the year when the

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁷¹ The Annual Report of the SABMS given at the BU Assembly at Port Elizabeth, September 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 19.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

³⁷³ Baptist Union Rhodesian Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 40.

³⁷⁴ Baptist Union Rhodesian Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 66.

³⁷⁵ See for example: Baptist Union Rhodesian Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1934, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 56; Baptist Union Rhodesian Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 51; and Baptist Union Rhodesian Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 43.

last report on this Fund appeared. It was mainly a statement of revenue and expenditure, with most of its assets used as loans on mortgage to the European churches. In 1930 there is, however, a mention of £133.6s.8d.³⁷⁶ as a stipend for Rev Brett, which in 1932 was reported to be £147.6s.8d.³⁷⁷ Therefore, since 1926, the Fund had become a holding fund in that its only purpose was to provide loan capital to the churches for their mortgages. The land acquired in Rhodesia served as a valuable asset for this fund.

6.5. The SABMS's administrative and missionaries' benefit funds

One should remember, as pointed out before, that all the funds, which were formed for the benefit of European ministers also benefited European missionaries. There is only one fund in the history of the Baptist Church of South Africa that was established solely for the SABMS. This was the SABMS Trust Fund. Like the BU Trust Fund, which was a trust for most of the BU funds, the SABMS Trust Fund was also a trust for most of the "SABMS funds." That is, contributions that came from a number of BU funds into the SABMS were managed through this Fund. As will be shown below, this Fund, like the BU Trust Fund, was for the benefit of European Baptists, in this case the Baptist missionaries.

6.5.1. Background on European missionaries' salaries and fringe benefits (1896-1924)

Since the formation of the SABMS in 1892, the first record of European missionaries' salaries and related benefits was in 1896 with the following salary expenditures: Mr C. P. Pittman (£43.15s.0d.), Mr J. W. Joyce (£36.0s.0d.), Mr C. W. Pearce (£18.0s.0d.), and £7.10s.0d. for Miss Bellin and Miss Box, jointly recorded. In addition to these there was a hut (£5.0s.0d.) in Pondoland for the European missionary (Mr Joyce), an outfit for Mr Joyce (£5.0s.0d.), and a horse and a saddle for Mr Joyce (£15.0s.0d.).³⁷⁸ Comparing these expenses

³⁷⁶ Baptist Union Rhodesian Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 48.

³⁷⁷ Baptist Union Rhodesian Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 55.

³⁷⁸ Financial Statement of the SABMS (Kaffrarian Branch) for 1895-1896, in BU Handbook for 1896-1897, p. 54. In the same Handbook there is a record of an expenditure of £70 for Rev Eales, at Salisbury, Rhodesia. Further, the same record states the figure of £25.15s.6d. and £25.6s.0d. respectively paid for Mrs Eales and

to the income, the SABMS Treasurer, Rev Gutsche Jr., reported: "Last year (1894) our income amounted to £160.6s.7½d.; this year [1895] to £178. As to the sources, it may be said that the amounts received through Collection Cards [distributed in native churches] have fallen off about £22. There are only a few who are now entitled to the third prize-book. The collections from Church and Sunday Schools have both somewhat – not considerably – arisen. The best advance has been made under the heading of 'Donations and Subscriptions,' showing an increase of £21, proving that the Missionary Cause is slowly gathering a personal constituency."³⁷⁹

In the following year, 1897, appeared a substantive record of the benefits the missionaries enjoyed. In addition to the salaries of Mr C. W. Pearce (£81.13s.4d.) and Miss Bellin and Miss Box (£20.19s.0d.), again jointly recorded, are records of a horse and bridle (£7.11s.6d.) for Mr Pearce, a hut (£5.5s.0d.) and a house (£20.0s.0d.) both in Pondoland and both for Mr Joyce, and a hut (£5.0s.0d.) in Tembuland for Miss Bellin.³⁸⁰ Regarding Miss Bellin and Miss Box, whose salaries were again jointly reported in 1899, the Missionary Session of the Assembly resolved: "That the recognition of services of Miss Box and Miss Field be increased to £15 and £10 respectively."³⁸¹ Furthermore, the SABMS Committee presented the following recommendations to the Missionary Session of the 1901 BU Assembly, which were accepted. Firstly, that "the application of the Rev J. W. Joyce for £25 (moiety of cost) for wagon be granted for missionary purposes."³⁸² Secondly, that "Mr Joyce's salary be increased from £11 to £12.10s.0d. per month."³⁸³ Lastly, that "the salary of Petros [Mrwetyana] be raised from £20 to £30 per annum."³⁸⁴ In the following year, the Assembly again increased the salaries as follows: "Rev C. W. Pearce to £180 [per annum], Rev J. W. Joyce £180 [per annum] and Miss Cockburn to £48 [per annum]."³⁸⁵ Accompanying this resolution was another which read: "That the raising of salaries of each of the other lady

family, and their coach fare to Salisbury. (Baptist Union Industrial Mission Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, in *Op. Cit.*, p. 57.).

³⁷⁹ Report of the SABMS Treasurer for the 1896 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1896-1897*, p. 52.

³⁸⁰ Financial Statement of the SABMS for 1896, in *BU Handbook for 1897-1898*, p. 54.

³⁸¹ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1899 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1899-1900*, p. 65.

³⁸² Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1901 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1900-1903*, p. 90.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁵ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1902 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1900-1903*, p. 154.

missionaries be left to the Missionary Committee and that their action be confirmed by the Annual Assembly.³⁸⁶ Pertaining to property in Pondoland, the mission area which was under Rev Joyce's oversight, the same Assembly further resolved that the Rev Joyce and Mr Prisk "be appointed to prepare a plan for the Mission House, the cost of the same not to exceed £200."³⁸⁷

Following on the 1899 decision which resulted in the raising of Miss Bellin's and Miss Box's salaries, the SABMS Committee in its Annual Report for 1903, while reporting on matters which claimed "the earnest and prayerful consideration of the Assembly [added that] one of these is the question of the allowances to our Lady Missionaries."³⁸⁸ This is because, according to the SABMS Committee, "the cost of living has greatly increased since they [Mrs Eve and Miss Thorpe] began to enrich the Churches by the example of their self-denying services ... and the slight addition coming under the classification of help from Australia has been reduced."³⁸⁹ Even though their salaries (£266.13s.4d.),³⁹⁰ jointly, were less than the previous (£300.0s.0d.) year,³⁹¹ they were better than those earned by natives. In the following year's (1903) financial statement, in addition to their salaries,³⁹² the two lady missionaries, Misses Box and Field, jointly received £18.0s.0d. towards their horses.³⁹³ It is nonetheless worth mentioning that the cost of these horses was less compared to that of the male missionaries, for example, £18.0s.0d. for Rev P. Lowe's horse and £25.0s.0d. for Rev C. W. Pearce's horse.³⁹⁴ Furthermore, the cost of the mission house at Pondoland, for Rev

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1903-1904, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 23.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Cape Town Auxiliary of the SABMS Fifth Annual Statement from 1st January to 31st December 1901, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 141. According to the statement, the salaries were divided as follows: Rev Eve £140.0s.0d., Mrs Eve £80.0s.0d., and Miss Thorpe £80.0s.0d.

³⁹¹ Cape Town Auxiliary of the SABMS Financial Statement for 1902, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 141. This statement, unlike the previous year, does not provide a breakdown.

³⁹² In the Financial Statement for 1903, there is no breakdown of salaries per missionary. Instead, a round figure of £621.5s.0d. is recorded as missionaries and teachers' salaries and allowances. Furthermore, there is also an amount of £121.15s.6d. in the same statement reported as "towards the support of missionaries from Australia and other sources." (SABMS Financial Statement for 1903, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 47).

³⁹³ SABMS Financial Statement for 1903, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 47.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

Joyce amounted to £29.19s.4d,³⁹⁵ in the same year. This should be compared with the figures for Miss Box's accommodation (see below).

After the horses were provided for the lady missionaries, in 1905 appeared the first record of accommodation costs for them. This was an amount of £10.0s.0d. towards a hut for Miss Box.³⁹⁶ The same statement records another first, that is, a sick allowance of £10.0s.0d. for Rev Joyce.³⁹⁷ In addition to the other two lady missionaries who in 1903 received money towards their horses, in this year, 1905, another lady missionary, Miss Cockburn, received £9.0s.0d. towards her horse.³⁹⁸ In the same year, a major financial decision, and again one for the benefit of European missionaries, was also made. The SABMS Committee, while reporting on its 1905 activities for the 1906 Assembly, made mention that "at Mjozi the Rev J. W. Joyce and his wife are labouring on amid signs of continued prosperity ... there is still more that the Committee feels must be done for our Missionaries."³⁹⁹ It further reported, "Mr Joyce is the only Missionary in those parts where provision is not made for the Education of the children, and the Committee feel that, apart from the clamant need of making some arrangement in this case at once, an Education policy for the Children of Missionaries should be adopted."⁴⁰⁰

Given this need for more that could be done "for our Missionaries," the Missionary Session of the 1906 Assembly referred "to the incoming Committee to draw up a scheme to provide for the Education of our Missionaries' Children, and that this year a sum not exceeding £50 be authorized, if necessary."⁴⁰¹ Interestingly, the same Assembly resolved that it "desired to see the formation of a Ladies' Society, operating throughout the whole denomination, to assist in the work of the SABMS."⁴⁰² This Society will have as its "immediate purpose ... to

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ SABMS Financial Statement for 1st October 1904 to 30th September 1905, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 81.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.* It is worth noting that the missionaries and evangelists' salaries and allowances during this financial period amounted to £718.10s.0d.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ SABMS Report for 1905-1906, in BU Handbook for 1906-1907, p. 38.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰¹ Missionary Session of 1906 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1906-1907, p. 45.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

provide for the Education of our Missionaries' Children."⁴⁰³ A year later, as a result "of the efforts of the Baptist Ladies League, the organization which was formed at the last Assembly, an amount of £26.10s. was forwarded to the Treasurer. This was handed to our Missionary [Rev Joyce] in order to help towards defraying the expenses of making some arrangements for the education of his children."⁴⁰⁴

In the same *Report* in which provision was made towards defraying the expenses of education of Rev Joyce's children, the SABMS Committee reported on the scheme that it was mandated to draw up regarding "adequate provision for the children of our Missionaries."⁴⁰⁵ The SABMS Committee recommended that "the principle operating in other Missionary Societies should be adopted, viz., that an allowance be made per child per year for education and maintenance, and that such an allowance be £10 for each child, commencing at six years and continuing till 15 years; exceptional cases to be considered on their own merits."⁴⁰⁶ The Missionary Session of the 1907 BU Assembly passed the recommendation as the Assembly's resolution, with the only change and addition to it being: "commencing at 6 years and continuing until 16 years of age ... and that exceptional cases should be considered on their own merits."⁴⁰⁷ By the close of the 1910 financial year, an expenditure of £50 had been spent on "grants for education."⁴⁰⁸ The same figure was also spent in the following year, though this time it was referred to "grants for education and maintenance."⁴⁰⁹ By 1912 the figure had increased from £50, in 1911, to £92.10s.0d..⁴¹⁰ In

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁴ SABMS Report for 1906-1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 28. See also SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1906 to 30th September 1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 35.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴⁰⁸ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1909 to 30th September 1910, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 47.

⁴⁰⁹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1910 to 30th September 1911, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 33.

⁴¹⁰ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1911 to 30th September 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 37.

1915, it had further increased to £117.10s.0d.⁴¹¹ But from 1917 it started decreasing to £55,⁴¹² and to £40 in 1919.⁴¹³

Returning to the issue of the money spent on accommodation for European missionaries, by the close of the 1907 financial year, the cost of the Mjozi mission house building for them amounted to £35. In the same financial statement, there is a record of another building, referred to as "New Mission Pondoland," which cost the SABMS £50.⁴¹⁴ Later, another new building, also for the European missionaries was erected and its costs amounted in 1911 to £16.11s.9d. and in 1912 to £33.10s.0d. This was the Cacadu house building.⁴¹⁵ In addition to this house, the following year, the SABMS Committee commented in its *Report* that "Arrangements for the building of the new house for the lady missionaries at Cacadu are progressing, and the Committee gratefully records the generous response made to their appeal for funds for this necessary purpose."⁴¹⁶ By the close of the financial year of 1913, the Cacadu house was complete and had cost £80.19s.4d. in addition to the previous years' amount.⁴¹⁷

While accommodation for the (European) missionaries was improved and the education of their children catered for, travelling, salaries and related fringe benefits were also increased. For instance, regarding the medical expenses of missionaries and their families, by the close of the 1907 financial year an amount of £10.5s. had been spent on a "Missionary's family."⁴¹⁸ Also in 1912, an amount of £9 is recorded as "Medical Attendance [of a]

⁴¹¹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1914 to 30th September 1915, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 43.

⁴¹² SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1916 to 30th September 1917, in BU Handbook for 1917-1918, p. 47.

⁴¹³ SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending 30th September 1919, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 50.

⁴¹⁴ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1906 to 30th September 1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 35.

⁴¹⁵ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1911 to 30th September 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 37.

⁴¹⁶ SABMS Annual Report of the Committee for 1911-1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 41.

⁴¹⁷ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1912 to 30th September 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 45.

⁴¹⁸ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1906 to 30th September 1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 35.

Missionary's Family."⁴¹⁹ And in the following year, 1913, the last of such reports, only an amount of £6 had been spent on "Medical Attendance [of a] Missionary's Family."⁴²⁰ These medical costs seem to have been spent on one family, Rev Joyce's family.

Pertaining to travelling, the European missionaries' travelling expenses remained part of the SABMS's annual expenditure. For example, by the close of the 1907 financial year, an amount of £12 was recorded as travelling expenses.⁴²¹ Horses, during this period, were still the most convenient mode of travel for missionaries. Therefore, efforts were made to provide horses for those missionaries without transport. For example, in 1910, the financial statements recorded a grant of £10 for "purchase of [a] horse."⁴²² In 1912, there is another record of £25 for "purchase of horses"⁴²³ and again in 1913, there is an amount of £15 spent on the "purchase of [a] horse."⁴²⁴

In 1917 appears another record – the highest ever – of missionaries' travelling and removal expenses, being £179.2s.4d.⁴²⁵ in a single year. The following year, 1918, these removal and travelling expenses (£110.18s.2d.) were less than in 1917. In the same financial statement, there is a record of £27.10s. recorded as only for "horses."⁴²⁶ This was to be the last expenditure on horses, since the SABMS in 1921 started using motorcycles for missionary purposes.⁴²⁷ Later on, starting in 1923, the same year that the Native Baptist Church Council was formed, with the subsequent breakaway of native ministers and evangelists of the

⁴¹⁹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1911 to 30th September 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 37.

⁴²⁰ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1912 to 30th September 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 45.

⁴²¹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1906 to 30th September 1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 35.

⁴²² SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1909 to 30th September 1910, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 47.

⁴²³ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1911 to 30th September 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 35.

⁴²⁴ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1912 to 30th September 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 45.

⁴²⁵ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1916 to 30th September 1917, in BU Handbook for 1916-1917, p. 47.

⁴²⁶ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1917 to 30th September 1918, in BU Handbook for 1917-1919, p. 49. Owing to the First World War, the BU Handbook was not printed in 1918.

⁴²⁷ See for example, SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending June 30th 1922, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 57.

SABMS,⁴²⁸ the SABMS began using motorcars.⁴²⁹ The first motorcycle, according to the SABMS records, was for Rev Joyce, on which, an amount of £120 was spent. This amount is recorded as “repairs and insurance [of] motor-cycle, travelling, work at compounds, etc.”⁴³⁰ In 1923 appeared another record, which read: “Rev Joyce, bike repairs and insurance, travelling, etc., from a Friend of Missions.”⁴³¹ Then in 1924 appeared the first record of “a monthly grant to cover the maintenance of a motor-car.”⁴³² This was for Rev Peinke, Superintendent of Glen Grey, which, according to the SABMS Committee, would “enable him to undertake these long journeys [from Mpotula to the Transkeian areas] as it was found that owing to prevalent horse sickness, it was very difficult to manage with his horses.”⁴³³

Another benefit that the missionaries enjoyed was a pension benefit. As indicated earlier on, the BU Pension Fund did cover the SABMS’s European missionaries. There are however, other factors recorded in the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly that throw light on the extent of the pension benefits the missionaries enjoyed. Firstly, the lady missionaries not married were insured on a different scale to their male counterparts. That is, when the Missionary Session of the 1910 BU Assembly resolved “that the income of the Missionary Society shall be subject to a toll of 1 per cent, which shall be paid into the Union Emergency Fund,”⁴³⁴ it further resolved, “that [the] Fund shall be responsible for £5 per annum on behalf of the Pension for each of the three Lady Missionaries.”⁴³⁵ In addition: “That the Society become responsible for the amount due to the Missionary Churches on the condition that the Missionaries endeavour to raise an additional £5 from their Churches for this purpose.”⁴³⁶ This distinction between the European male and female missionaries was affirmed when the SABMS Committee in its Report mentioned: “The relation of the [male] Missionary to the Society is similar to the relation of the Minister to his Church, and the matter will be brought before the Assembly as to whether this should not apply in regard to the amount which is to

⁴²⁸ See Chapter 5.

⁴²⁹ See for example, The 32nd Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 17.

⁴³⁰ SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending June 30th 1922, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 57.

⁴³¹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1922 to 30th June 1923, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 69.

⁴³² The 32nd Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 17.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁴ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1910 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 34.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

be contributed, in addition to the Minister's or Missionary's contribution to the Pension Fund."⁴³⁷ And during the Missionary Session of the 1913 BU Assembly it was resolved that "the matter of pension contributions payable by Missionaries be referred to [the] Committee."⁴³⁸

Secondly, "Native Missions" contributed to the SABMS, and in one way or the other this money could also be distributed into the Pension Fund. For example, by the close of the 1911 financial year, the following native missions: Kaffraria (£66.15s.5d.), Pondoland (£44.10s.0d.) and Tembuland (£10.6s.4d.),⁴³⁹ had each contributed into the SABMS. The same financial statement records that an amount of £22.10s.0d. from a "Mission Churches Contribution"⁴⁴⁰ was spent on the Pension Fund. Another financial source of the Pension Fund for the benefit of SABMS missionaries came through the personal subscriptions. For example, in 1913, Mr John E. Biggs made a personal contribution of £25.⁴⁴¹ This was followed by another general contribution in 1918 of £10.0s.6d., by the SABMS into the BU Pension Fund.⁴⁴²

Besides benefits such as transport, housing, medical, pension and grants for the education of their children, the European missionaries also had furlough leave. The first record of this leave was in 1910 for Rev and Mrs Lowe. According to the SABMS Committee: "Our missionary, with his wife, are at present on furlough in England – their first leave after several years of very arduous labour, and of trying expenses."⁴⁴³ Both Rev Lowe and his wife were in charge of Mpotula Mission with Tsolakazi, Cacadu and Buffalo Thorns as branches. Reporting on who would oversee this work while Rev and Mrs Lowe were on furlough, the Committee further mentioned: "Our missionary was fortunate enough in securing a good

⁴³⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1909-1910, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 43.

⁴³⁸ Minutes of Missionary Session of the 1913 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 34.

⁴³⁹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1910 to 30th September 1911, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 32.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴⁴¹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1912 to 30th September 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 45.

⁴⁴² SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1917 to 30th September 1918, in BU Handbook for 1917-1919, p. 49. See also the contribution made in 1917 by the Mission Churches (£12.11s.0d.) and the "income [during] 1915-1916 [of £20.15s.0d.] to Emergency Fund." (SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1916 to 30th September 1917, in BU Handbook for 1916-1917, p. 47.).

⁴⁴³ SABMS Annual Report for 1909-1910, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 42.

native evangelist, who was for some years associated with our Buffalo Thorns Church, and who was willing to leave his position on the Government Railway for an allowance of less than half of that which he was receiving. His presence and work will relieve the anxiety and labour of Miss Price, of Cacadu, upon whose shoulders much of Mr and Mrs Lowe's work must fall."⁴⁴⁴ Another record of a furlough appeared when "in December, 1911, Miss Aggie Cockburn was gladly welcomed back to her work at the Tembani Mission, and Misses L. H. Box and M. Field of Kanyayo were granted twelve month's furlough without salary."⁴⁴⁵ In 1916 appears another record of a furlough concerning the missionaries working in Lambaland. Reporting on this, the SABMS Committee stated: "In December [1916] two of your staff needed relief from the strain of the work. It was arranged that Mr Phillips should go to England for a much needed furlough, and Mrs German to Johannesburg for rest and medical treatment."⁴⁴⁶

Finally, salaries, the biggest expenditure of the SABMS budget, were the major item on the list of benefits the European missionaries enjoyed. For example, from 1913 onwards, the SABMS financial statement clearly distinguishes "[European] Missionaries' Salaries" from "Evangelists' and Teachers' Salaries."⁴⁴⁷ These by the close of the 1913 financial year were: £789.10s.0d. for European missionaries and £274.0s.3d. for native evangelists' and teachers' salaries.⁴⁴⁸ By 1915 these salaries had increased to £908.0s.0d. for European missionaries and £332.12s.4d. for native evangelists.⁴⁴⁹ And in 1919, the amounts had grown to £1,291.18s.4d for European missionaries and £394.10s.4d. for native evangelists.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1911-1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 39.

⁴⁴⁶ The 24th Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1915-1916, p. 33.

⁴⁴⁷ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1912 to 30th September 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 45. Prior to this period, there was no distinction between European missionaries and native evangelists' salaries. For example, by the close of the 1912 financial year, only a round figure of £1,040.2s.6d., is reported as "Missionaries' and Evangelists' Salaries and Allowances." (SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1911 to 30th September 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 37.).

⁴⁴⁸ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1912 to 30th September 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 45.

⁴⁴⁹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1914 to 30th September 1915, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 43.

⁴⁵⁰ SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending 30th September 1919, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 50.

Even though there was a huge discrepancy between European missionaries' and native evangelists' salaries, in 1920, the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly resolved that "This Assembly while recognizing that the reductions made in the stipends of the [European] Missionaries were necessary, feels that they should be restored at the first possible opportunity, and accordingly recommends that the stipends be restored as soon as the finances permit, and that the [native] Churches be asked to remit their contributions quarterly so as to assist the Treasurer and the Committee in this matter."⁴⁵¹ This decision was reached after the SABMS Committee presented the following report to the BU Assembly:

Our financial support has increased considerably during the last few years but the growth of the work now requires £3000 per annum from the churches besides £500 from Trust Funds &c. The growing deficit has been a heavy burden, to lighten which much anxious thought has been given, salaries which have been raised in 1920 to meet the increased cost of living have been decreased among our European workers by £227, and among our Native workers by £64, a total saving of £291 per annum. As this is inadequate to meet the shortfall, the Committee have [sic] very reluctantly been compelled to seek other means of reducing the expenditure. They have applied to the British Missionary Society to take over the Lambaland Mission, as this is outside the borders of South Africa, which has the first claim upon us. The Natives of South Africa are at our very doors, and neither British nor American Baptists are willing to undertake responsibility with regard to them. This step has not been taken without full consideration of the fine record of that mission and of its inspirational value to the Churches. Perhaps the danger of losing the work which has won so large a place in the hearts of our people will more than anything bring home to them the urgency of the Society's need.⁴⁵²

Another means the SABMS employed in order to decrease its expenditure was a reduction in staff. Mentioning that it would not part with any one of its staff, the SABMS stated however, "if any reduction has to be made, our smallest field in the Glen Grey could best spare a worker. We hope however that other work may be found for the Rev H. Peinke as organizer of European and Native work jointly in the Transkei."⁴⁵³ By the close of this year's (1921) financial term, salaries had amounted to £2,153.18s.4d. for the European missionaries and

⁴⁵¹ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 37.

⁴⁵² SABMS 29th Annual Report for 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 39.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

£402.15s.5d. was paid for “native evangelists salaries.”⁴⁵⁴ Rev Peinke’s laying-off from Glen Grey meant his being given charge of a new field; this time it was Tembuland.⁴⁵⁵ And as indicated above, he was the first European missionary to receive a monthly grant to cover the maintenance of a motorcar.

In the same year, 1921, that Rev Peinke was “laid off” from the Glen Grey field, and given Tembuland as his new responsibility, the promised increase of Europeans’ salaries never materialized. This is because, in 1922, the SABMS Committee reported, “our expenditure has exceeded our income by £215 without our being able to restore the stipends of our workers to their former level. This makes our total debt to trust funds, earmarked moneys and the bank £830, and in order to gradually reduce this we estimate for an income of £2,750.”⁴⁵⁶ This financial difficulty was due to the unhealthy financial state of the country and world, as a result of the First World War. About this economic state, Walker commented:

European markets, balkanised and crushed by reparations, were so helpless that Great Britain had to save South Africa by buying a large part of her 1919 wool-clip at pre-war rates, rates which were none the less nearly 20 per cent., in advance of current prices. Then the British post-war boom collapsed and then South African boom collapsed in sympathy. The panic stricken banks abruptly shortened credit; over-stocked merchants, shopkeepers, and speculators were ruined; the premium dropped so fast that some of the weaker low-grade mines had to close down; Kimberley followed suit; produce prices fell to the damage of the farmers, and falling wages largely cancelled the benefits of falling prices in the towns. The Poor White problem, veiled by the good times, became insistent at the very moment that the Government began to talk of modifying the rent and other emergency laws of 1920, promised heavier taxation to meet the deficit which was piling up as customs and mining revenues fell away, and proceeded to cut down the war bonus in the railway and civil services. Soon the eight-hour day on the railways was threatened and the railway administration was borrowing from an exhausted Treasury to pay the interest which it had failed to find in the high and ever higher rates that were killing the export trade in coal.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁴ SABMS Annual Financial Statement from 1st October 1920 to 30th September 1921, in BU Handbook for 1921-1922, p. 66.

⁴⁵⁵ This field included: Mpotula, Buffalo Thorns, Tsolokazi, Kolonga, Kundulu and Laho (See Statistical Returns, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 30.).

⁴⁵⁶ SABMS Thirtieth Annual Report for 1922 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 6.

⁴⁵⁷ Walker, E. A. (1968). *A History of Southern Africa*. London: Longmans, pp. 574-575.

Coming back to the discussion of the *SABMS Report*, the *Report* further stated: "We appeal to the liberality and consecration of our [European] churches to provide this sum. One very great help in so doing will be the adoption as a regular thing of the Self-denial and Gift Day, which was so heartily welcomed by many churches and even mission stations, and was fraught with great spiritual blessing."⁴⁵⁸ By the close of the 1922 financial year, the SABMS financial statement showed a deficit of £392.13s.0d. while the expenditure on salaries was £1,457.16s.8d. on European salaries and £230.7s.6d. on native salaries.⁴⁵⁹ The following year, 1923, the financial statement again showed a deficit. But this time it was a deficit of £250.3s.5d. This was a result of an increased expenditure on European salaries, which had increased to £1,936.0s.0d., while native evangelists' salaries were £341.10s.7d..⁴⁶⁰ But awkwardly, if not questionably, during the same year, for the first time in SABMS's financial records, European missionaries' salaries were also categorized under native evangelists' salaries. These particularly included the salaries of Misses Box and Field, which amounted to £36.7s.11d. There is also an amount of £83.2s.4d. for "Anon [Anonymous]."⁴⁶¹ In 1924, the deficit was £208.3s.3d., while the European missionaries' salaries were £1,906.0s.0d., and £362.2s.6d. for native evangelists.⁴⁶² And in 1925, the deficit decreased to £182.15s.6d. with European salaries having increased to £1,913.19s.0d. and native salaries having decreased to £358.12s.0d..⁴⁶³ These native salaries are in sharp contrast to the contributions (£697.15s.6d.) that the native churches made to the SABMS's income,⁴⁶⁴ in the same year.

It is interesting to recall that there were a number of European missionaries who had arrived in South Africa without being called by the SABMS. Most of these missionaries on arrival in South Africa approached the SABMS with the intention of working among the natives.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending 30th June 1922, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 57. It is worth noting that this is the same year that the SABMS spent £120 on Rev Joyce's motorcycle repair and insurance, travelling and work in the compounds, besides his salary. Furthermore, also recorded under native salaries is an amount of £66.17s.8d. paid to "Anon [Anonymous]." (*Ibid.*)

⁴⁶⁰ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1922 to 30th June 1923, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 69. In the previous year, the figure paid to "Anon" was separately recorded.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.* The total figure recorded as native evangelists' salaries was £485.0s.10d. (*Ibid.*)

⁴⁶² SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1923 to 30th June 1924, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, pp. 60-61.

⁴⁶³ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1924 to 30th June 1925, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, pp. 60-61.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Under expenditure, the statement does indicate local expenses on native churches and travelling expenditure, for the European missionaries, which amounted to £728.12s.3d.

However, some of these missionaries after a few months' service left this work to take up work in European churches or in the secular field. Of those that remained in the SABMS, the SABMS in the long run ended up paying their salaries. For example, in 1911, the SABMS Committee reported that it "regrets to have to report that, for monetary reasons, the generous private support of Miss M. E. Price at Tembani Mission has been withdrawn. It was decided to continue the support of Miss Price, at the expense of the Society's Funds aided by the Church at Grahamstown, until this Assembly, and your Committee recommend that the Assembly authorise them to arrange to retain the services of Miss Price as a Missionary of the Society."⁴⁶⁵

6.5.2. Formation of SABMS Trust Fund (1925)

The first time that the SABMS funds were referred to as the Trust Fund was in 1922 when "Mr F. E. Blackwell was appointed as Treasurer to the Missionary Trust Funds."⁴⁶⁶ In the following year appeared the first statement of revenue and expenditure of the SABMS Trust Fund. By the end of 30th June 1923, the Fund's total assets were £1,724.2s.0d., most (£1,700.0s.0d.) of which was by loans on mortgage and the remainder of which (£24.2s.0d.) was in the BU Trust Fund.⁴⁶⁷ As the Fund was still new, the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly, in the following year, agreed to refer to the [BU] Executive ... the rate of interest to be sought for Missionary Trust Fund investments."⁴⁶⁸ In the same session it was also agreed to "refer [the matter to] the consideration of Mr Biggs' Trust."⁴⁶⁹ The same year's (1924) statement of revenue and expenditure reveals other sources of revenue besides the BU funds. These were: Interest on Loans (£105.12s.5d.), Dividend Colliery Shares (£12.10s.0d.), Interest [from] John Biggs Fund (£146.5s.0d.), 500 Shares Elandslaagte Colliery Ltd. (£150.0s.0d.), Muter Bequest per Wale Street Church (£250.0s.0d.), and Legacy Estate late

⁴⁶⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1911-1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 39. Two years earlier, 1910, the SABMS Committee had reported that: "Miss Price has proved herself a most devoted worker, and it is a great joy she has completely recovered her health, it was great sadness to the Committee that owing to the financial condition it was felt impossible to place her upon the permanent staff of the Society." (SABMS Annual Report for 1908-1909, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 40.).

⁴⁶⁶ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1922 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 47.

⁴⁶⁷ SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the period 1st January to 30th June 1923, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 70.

⁴⁶⁸ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1924 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 36.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

Mr Aubrey, Durban (£250.0s.0d.). These sources of revenue including the balance (£1,724.2s.0d.) from the previous year amounted to £2,638.9s.5d.⁴⁷⁰ Regarding assets, most of this capital was by loans (£1,800.0s.0d.) on mortgage.⁴⁷¹

Since the SABMS, including its funds, were under the supervision of the BU, the BU decided to streamline the administrative functions of the SABMS in line with those of the BU. This was effected when the Missionary Session of the 1926 BU Assembly resolved: "That the Rev Charles Garratt in his capacity as Chairman, the Rev John Edgar Ennals, B.A., B.D., in his capacity as Secretary, and Mr Alexander Hay King in his capacity as the Treasurer, having been duly elected to their respective offices, be Trustees of the South Africa Baptist Missionary Society in accordance with Rule IV of the Constitution of the said Society."⁴⁷² This rule read: "That all property shall be vested in, and all bonds shall be made in favour of, the Trustees of the Society, who shall be the Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer, and their successor in office."⁴⁷³

In the same Session during which the Trustees of the Fund were appointed, another important resolution was passed. It was resolved "That to increase the existing Trust Fund to or by £10,000, an Insurance Scheme be adopted."⁴⁷⁴ By the close of 30th June 1926, the end of the 1926 financial year, the Fund had assets to the value of £2,829.15s.4d., out of which £2,260.0s.0d. was by loans on mortgage.⁴⁷⁵ It is also worth mentioning that among its revenue, the Fund acquired new revenue in the form of £255.3s.0d. from the Orsmond Legacy and £200.0s.0d. from the F. Kay Legacy per Cape Town Church. Pertaining to the Insurance Scheme, in 1927 "progress was reported by Mr E. V. Baker, who advocated the wider adoption of the plan of taking out assurances to be made over to the Society."⁴⁷⁶ But not much came of this plan for the Insurance Scheme until in 1939 when the BU approved

⁴⁷⁰ SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1924, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 58.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴⁷² Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 34.

⁴⁷³ Constitution of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 54.

⁴⁷⁴ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 34.

⁴⁷⁵ SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 44.

⁴⁷⁶ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 43.

the formation of the Insurance Agency Scheme, as will later⁴⁷⁷ be noted. As for the SABMS Trust Fund, its assets by the close of 30th June 1927 were £2,779.15s.4d., out of which £2,577.10s.0d. was by loans on mortgage. But for the first time, appeared in the same year, a distinction between these loans. That is, there were loans at 8% (£2,183.12s.4d.) and those at 5% (£393.17s.8d.) interest.⁴⁷⁸ This distinction appeared immediately after the BU Assembly had passed its resolution that the BU Trust Fund loans to churches ought to be differentiated.

The period under discussion closes with the 1928 BU Assembly during which new SABMS Trustees, in an annual assembly procedure, were elected. That is, the Missionary Session of the Assembly resolved: "That the Rev James William Joyce in his capacity as Chairman, the Rev John Edgar Ennals, D.D., in his capacity as Secretary, and Mr Arthur William Davis in his capacity as Treasurer, having been duly elected to their respective offices, be the Trustees of the South African Baptist Missionary Society in accordance with Rule IV of the Constitution of the Society."⁴⁷⁹

During the period when the SABMS Trust Fund was formed, starting particularly with 1925, being the same year that the first record of the SABMS's purchase of motorcars for use by European missionaries took place, the missionaries' benefits continued as before. For a start, during the Missionary Session of the 1926 BU Assembly, "contributions were given towards the purchase of a motor-car for Rev Brailsford."⁴⁸⁰ The following year, the SABMS Committee in its report for the 1927 BU Assembly justified why a motorcar was necessary. It stated; "We often been faced with the death of horses through sickness, and the roads have been much improved, that the car adds considerably to the work that can be done, and it is cheaper to supply a machine than another worker."⁴⁸¹ Therefore, "the provision of a motor transit for our [European] missionaries ... [is] not a luxury but [a] necessity."⁴⁸² Furthermore,

⁴⁷⁷ See Chapter 8.

⁴⁷⁸ SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 65. Also recorded in the source of revenue is a donation £100 from Buffalo Street Church, East London.

⁴⁷⁹ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 33.

⁴⁸⁰ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 34. In the same minutes it was also recorded that "contributions were given ... towards the provision of a stove for Mr and Mrs Cross, Lambaland." (Ibid.).

⁴⁸¹ SABMS Executive Report to the 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 19.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

the SABMS Committee reported: "Miss Sprigg and Mrs H. Chapman in addition to the gifts made gave a considerable sum needed at last Assembly to provide [a] car for Mr Brailsford's use in Pondoland in memory of their father Major Sprigg, and Miss Sprigg has made herself responsible for its maintenance as well."⁴⁸³

The total amount donated for Rev Brailsford's car by the close of the 1927 financial year was £240.15s.6d.. This was the beginning of the SABMS's purchases of or the raising of funds for the purchase of motorcars for European missionaries. Horses were still, however, being made use of. For example, in the same year, Rev Joyce, Superintendent of the Transvaal, in his *Field Report* reported that the Pilgrims Rest district had provided a horse for the travelling native preachers, thus "enabling the Superintendent to visit Ponykrantz Mine and Sekukuniland."⁴⁸⁴ This was the first record of a horse purchased for native workers. And unlike European workers, for whom when a horse was purchased it was for a particular European worker, this horse was for native "preachers" in general. This had been the case ever since the purchase of a horse for a native evangelist in 1911 and two horses in 1914 for Messrs Mtwinini and Mrwetyana, respectively.

With regard to the salaries of the SABMS workers, the gap between European missionaries and native workers remained wide. For example, in 1925, the total cost of European missionaries' salaries was £1,913.19s.0d., while for native evangelists it was £358.12s.0d., as indicated before.⁴⁸⁵ In 1926, this increased to £1,935.0s.0d. for European missionaries and £443.10s.0d. for native evangelists.⁴⁸⁶ Similarly, in 1927, the European missionaries' salaries amounted to £1,826.17s.5d., while those for native evangelists were £502.5s.6d.⁴⁸⁷ In addition to salaries, European missionaries also had access to a budget for travelling expenses and local expenses. For example, in 1925, travelling expenses, which also included local expenses, amounted to £728.12s.3d..⁴⁸⁸ In 1926, the figure increased to

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁵ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1924 to 30th June 1925, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 60.

⁴⁸⁶ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1925 to 30th June 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 42.

⁴⁸⁷ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1926 to 30th June 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 62.

⁴⁸⁸ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1924 to 30th June 1925, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 60. The breakdown of these expenses was: Lambaland (£93.10s.8d.); Glen Grey (£23.3s.2d.); Kaffraria

£1,130.6s.8d.,⁴⁸⁹ and to £1,204.16s.8d., in 1927.⁴⁹⁰ In addition, in the same year appeared new travelling expenses separately tabled under expenditure. These included an amount of £39.11s.0d for “Mr and Mrs A. J. Cross on furlough,”⁴⁹¹ and £150.0s.0d as a reserve for travelling expenses.⁴⁹² Lastly, the SABMS continued its contributions to the Pension Fund for the benefit of the European missionaries. That is, £46.14s.5d. in 1925,⁴⁹³ £52.19s.2d. in 1926,⁴⁹⁴ and £73.4s.6d. in 1927.⁴⁹⁵ But during this period (1925-1927), there are no records of any SABMS education grants to missionaries’ children.

6.6. Eventual funds for native churches and ministers

6.6.1. Background on native funding (1893-1915)

A number of finance related aspects pertaining to native funding especially since 1893, were discussed in Chapter 5. These included among others: the fact that the property of the native churches belonged to the SABMS through the BBC; poor native ministers’ training; low salaries and the secession of native ministers from the Baptist Church to join the African Initiated Churches. There were, however, some distinct aspects pertaining to native funding which throw more light on the argument that the SABMS’s (including the BU’s) funds and related finance matters were primarily for the benefit of European missionaries. For a start, apart from Stofile’s salary of £60 per annum,⁴⁹⁶ the next report of a salary offer to an individual native was in 1911. This was an offer of £50 by Mr Philip Meier “for a Native Evangelist for East Bank Location, East London, under the pastoral supervision of Rev D. H.

(£89.4s.5d.); Pondoland (£36.15s.3d.); Transkei (£25.3s.1d.); Transvaal (£436.18s.10d.); and Carey Mission (£18.16s.10d.).

⁴⁸⁹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1925 to 30th June 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 42. The breakdown of these expenses was: Glen Grey (£56.9s.5d.); Kaffraria (£267.14s.1d.); Lambaland (£87.11s.1d.); Pondoland (£54.7s.4d.); Transkei (£87.7s.9d.); Transvaal (£564.14s.5d.); Durban Mission (£9.18s.9d.); and retained by treasurer (£2.3s.10d.).

⁴⁹⁰ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1926 to 30th June 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 62. The breakdown of these expenses was: Natal Mission (£64.11s.5d.); Kaffraria Mission (£123.9s.10d.); Lambaland (£97.2s.0d.); Pondoland (£294.3s.2d.); Transvaal (£410.17s.4d.); and Transkei and Glen Grey (£214.12s.11d.).

⁴⁹¹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1926 to 30th June 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 62.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

⁴⁹³ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1924 to 30th June 1925, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 61.

⁴⁹⁴ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1925 to 30th June 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 43.

⁴⁹⁵ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1926 to 30th June 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 63.

⁴⁹⁶ See Chapter 4.

Hay.”⁴⁹⁷ In the same year appeared for the first time a record of a “[native] evangelist’s horse,”⁴⁹⁸ which cost £10. Next to this entry on the SABMS’s financial statement, the word “special” is added, meaning a number of things, one of which is, among others, that it is for the first time that a horse has been provided for a native evangelist. In addition, it is implied that this provision does not set a precedent for other native evangelists. But in 1914 appeared another record of the purchase of two horses for the Transkei field. That is, “one for Mr Mntwini [sic], and one for the Evangelist Petros Mrwetyana at Toleni.”⁴⁹⁹ This was the last record of horses purchased by the SABMS for mission work by the native evangelists.

About the same period (in 1921) when the SABMS began purchasing motorcycles for its European workers, it also apparently purchased (in 1920) the first (and the last) bicycle for a native worker. This was for Joshua Monama, at Somabula, in Northern Rhodesia. Of him, it is reported that he “has 3 preaching stations and holds services every Sunday. Work was carried on for a time under a tree until the building for a church could be put up on the ground given by Messrs A. Brandt and C. Hupelt.”⁵⁰⁰ There is no definite proof that this bicycle was purchased since it is not reflected in the SABMS’s financial statement, as was the custom with other purchases. Furthermore, the SABMS Committee only mentioned that: “A bicycle would greatly help Joshua in getting round the district.”⁵⁰¹

From 1921 onwards until 1927, the SABMS and BU records provide no other forms of any benefits which the native evangelists enjoyed under the SABMS. The only records provided on a yearly basis were the salaries, jointly reported, that the native evangelists received. These were: £230.7s.6d. (1922),⁵⁰² £341.10s.7d. (1923),⁵⁰³ £362.2s.6d. (1924),⁵⁰⁴ £358.12s.0d. (1925),⁵⁰⁵ £443.10s.0d. (1926),⁵⁰⁶ and £502.5s.6d. (1927).⁵⁰⁷ As indicated

⁴⁹⁷ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1911 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 30.

⁴⁹⁸ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1910 to 30th September 1911, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 33.

⁴⁹⁹ The 21st Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1914 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, pp. 35-36.

⁵⁰⁰ The 29th Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 47.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰² SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending 30th June 1922, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 57.

⁵⁰³ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1922 to 30th June 1923, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 69.

⁵⁰⁴ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1923 to 30th June 1924, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 60.

⁵⁰⁵ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1924 to 30th June 1925, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 60.

before, these salaries were minimal in comparison to those of the European workers. It is against the background of these factors that the native funds, if any, were formed.

It is important to note that the salaries that the native ministers received from the SABMS should not in any way overshadow the fact that the native churches which these native ministers pastored, sent contributions to the SABMS. It is interesting to observe that in one of the early records of these contributions, in this case from Mpotula, the Superintendent of the field, Rev Eve, reported the following:

We are having fortnightly collections at the Sunday services in addition to the offerings at the Lord's Table. As last year, we held a day of Thanksgiving, when the members of their Church brought their offerings. Of course we do not receive any great amount, but we feel it is good for the people to give some gift of their own free will. The gift that helped me most was a bag of mealies given by one who used to be my servant. In making the offering he said he gave a tenth of his reaping.⁵⁰⁸

Also, in 1908, there is another interesting record, again by Rev Eve, of an offering by a native woman "who had been away working."⁵⁰⁹ On her return at "one of the meetings, [she] gladly testified to the fact that during her absence, and separated from the Christian influence of the [Mission] Station, 'she has been kept by the power of God,' and as a token of her thankfulness and of her indebtedness to the Mission she placed a sovereign upon the plate."⁵¹⁰ Commenting on this, Rev Eve added: "He who saw the widow's mite and the motives behind her small gift must have been gladdened that day when that native Christian woman's comparative 'poverty abounded unto the riches of her liberality.'"⁵¹¹ It was such individual contributions, among others, by poor natives; that helped maintain the mission station, which also included the dwelling that the European missionary resided in.

⁵⁰⁶ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1925 to 30th June 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 42.

⁵⁰⁷ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1926 to 30th June 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 62.

⁵⁰⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1904, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 42.

⁵⁰⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1906-1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 29.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*

In 1908, the SABMS started records of collections from mission stations. These were: Kaffraria and Transkei (£57.0s.6d.); Pondoland (£22.12s.6d.); and Cacadu (£1.5s.0d.).⁵¹² Besides contributions from mission stations, there were also contributions, separately indicated, from branches of mission stations. For example, when the Mjozi branch built its own church, the measurements of which were 41 x 22ft, the SABMS Committee reported that "this was made possible by three great friends of the Missionary Society – Messrs John and James Biggs and Mr J. E. Halford – together with the Native contributors of £50."⁵¹³ Concerning this building, it is "out of debt ... [and it also] for their use for school purposes."⁵¹⁴ In the same year, 1909, contributions from mission stations came forth, and were even larger than the previous year.⁵¹⁵ Therefore, there is no doubt that the natives contributed to the upkeep of the mission stations, including their related expenses. Their contribution at first, however, remained anonymous while European contributors were mentioned by name.

In addition to the contributions made by the native churches to the SABMS, there are also the contributions raised by the branches of the mission stations, which were sent directly to the SABMS Treasurer, through the field Superintendent. For example, in 1910, "The Thanksgiving Day at Kanyayo resulted in £4.1s.3d. being added to the funds of the Society, and in this amount there was over £1 contributed by the children."⁵¹⁶ The total amount from Kanyayo and other branches of Pondoland for the Thanksgiving Day amounted to £12.7s.6d. The following year, the SABMS Committee, commenting on the Kanyayo field report, stated: "At this station ... the income has increased during the year and our Missionaries are doing all they can to educate the Native Christians in the matter of giving."⁵¹⁷ The same was the case with Kaffraria and Transkei, about which the Committee also stated: "Our native

⁵¹² SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1907 to 30th September 1908, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 36.

⁵¹³ SABMS Annual Report for 1908-1909, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 38.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁵ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1908 to 30th September 1909, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 44. These contributions were: Kaffraria (£22.11s.3d.); Pondoland (£19.18s.0d.); and Tembuland (£10.0s.10d.).

⁵¹⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1909-1910, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 38. The contributions from the mission stations by the close of the 1910 financial year were: Kaffraria (£49.10s.7d.); Pondoland (£21.9s.0d.); and Tembuland (£8.11s.6d.) (SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1909 to 30th September 1910, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 46.).

⁵¹⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1910-1911, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 36.

members have shown a more liberal spirit at these Mission Stations during the year and this spirit is likely to grow.”⁵¹⁸ At Mpotula Mission, “An earnest effort has been made by Mr Lowe to get the Native members to give regularly for the support of the Society and during the visit of Mr Pearce the matter was urged upon them and discussed at a Church meeting with the result that it was agreed to make regular contributions.”⁵¹⁹ Summing up these reports, the SABMS Committee concluded:

The desire for support from the Native Churches has been frequently expressed and at the request of the Committee the Missionaries instituted a Thank-offering day, which has led to the increase of the income during the year. ... Throughout the Mission Stations the grace of giving has been growing during the year and promises well for the future. May the Lord who gives the means bestow upon our Native members and upon all the Spirit of Love which delights in giving. ... The souls that have been won from heathenism by the instrumentality of the Missionaries and Evangelists are cause for praise unto Him who hath redeemed them.⁵²⁰

By the close of the 1911 financial year, the mission stations had contributed as follows: Kaffraria (£66.15s.5d.); Pondoland (£44.10s.0d.); and Tembuland (£10.6s.4d.).⁵²¹ In the subsequent years, the contributions increased as follows, in 1912: Kaffraria (£82.1s.2d.); Pondoland (£53.7s.0d.); and Tembuland (£15.4s.4d.);⁵²² and in 1913: Kaffraria (£82.6s.11d.); Tembuland (£22.3ds.4d.); and Pondoland (£26.0s.9d.).⁵²³ By 1915 they were: Kaffraria (£97.16s.11d.); Tembuland (£26.14s.6d.); and Pondoland (£29.6s.6d.).⁵²⁴ For the first time, in the history of the SABMS’s financial records, appeared a new entry of £2.18s.0d. from the “East London Native Church.”⁵²⁵ Further, by 1917 the contributions from mission stations were as follows: Kaffraria (£82.11s.7d.); Pondoland (£32.4s.3d.); Tembuland (£28.15s.1d.);

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1910 to 30th September 1911, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 32.

⁵²² SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1911 to 30th September 1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 36.

⁵²³ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1912 to 30th September 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 44.

⁵²⁴ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1914 to 30th September 1915, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 42. Owing to the First World War, which was just beginning, the yearly BU Assembly proceedings were disrupted, thus no SABMS Financial Statement for the period 1913 to 1914.

⁵²⁵ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1914 to 30th September 1915, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 42.

Transkei (£10.7s.11d.); and Pilgrims Rest (£19.0s.0d.).⁵²⁶ There is a close correlation between native church membership and native contributions. For example, in the same year, the Berkeley Street Church in Kingwilliamstown reported that, "though the gross amount has decidedly increased the average per member has fallen from 15/- to 8/8."⁵²⁷

Following 1917, native contributions to the SAMBS continued. In 1918, these were: Kaffraria (£92.2s.2d.); Pondoland (£46.11s.0d.); Tembuland (£16.7s.5d.); and the Transvaal Native Churches (£3.14s.6d.).⁵²⁸ But in 1919, these contributions decreased to: Kaffraria (£57.11s.4d.); Pondoland (£38.1s.9d.); and Tembuland (£25.0s.0d.).⁵²⁹ In the same year, there is another contribution of £16.8s.3d. reported as "special" from Emdinzine Mission.⁵³⁰ It is worth noting that in the same year, Rev Joyce, Superintendent of the Transvaal field, while reporting that "In 1918 we were only able to tabulate 678 Church Members, at the present [1919] moment we have 1184,"⁵³¹ also added: "There are also 70 men and 30 women unpaid [native] workers in the Mission."⁵³² Furthermore, "Three native pastors are being supported by an anonymous lover of missions,"⁵³³ an amount which if it were known, and then subtracted from the overall sum paid to native workers the same year, could further strengthen the argument of the huge discrepancy between natives and European workers under the SABMS.

In 1920, the contributions from mission stations rose to: Kaffraria (£92.19s.8d.); Transvaal (£186.5s.8d.); Pondoland (£70.16s.3d.) and Tembuland (£42.0s.0d.),⁵³⁴ in comparison to the previous years. In the same reports, there are entries of contributions from other native churches. These were: Caezer Henkel District (£2.11s.2d.); John Adams District (£1.14s.6d.);

⁵²⁶ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1916 to 30th September 1917, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 42. Due to the First World War, the yearly BU Assembly proceedings were disrupted thus, no SABMS Financial Statement for the period 1915 to 1916.

⁵²⁷ The 25th Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1917 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1916-1917, p. 35.

⁵²⁸ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1917 to 30th September 1918, in BU Handbook for 1918-1919, p. 48.

⁵²⁹ SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending 30th September 1919, in BU handbook for 1919-1920, p. 51.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵³¹ The 27th Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 39.

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1920 to 30th September 1921, in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 67.

and Hugo Gutsche District (£11.0s.3d.).⁵³⁵ One of the reasons for this increase in contributions was, for example, in the case of the Transkei field: "The Thanksgiving Services [which] ... have been arranged at various places with a view to raising extra funds for the Society, but the poor harvest and poverty of the people have lessened the income."⁵³⁶ It is also worth noting that in the same year appeared for the first time a record of a native bequeathing land to the SABMS. Reporting on this, the SABMS Committee mentioned:

We have rejoiced also in a bequest from one of our Native converts, Elder Jonas Mshupela of Rabula in Kaffraria, who had died at the ripe age of 97, and has left us the site of our Mission Station there. This awakens great hope that the Natives will increasingly be able to support their own Church. One recognizes also the grace of God in such an action, which was to some extent paralleled by the purchase and conveyance of a site for a church at Devon on the Reef by two of our preachers. The result of this has been that 5 members have grown into 5 congregations.⁵³⁷

Given this increase in finance (and land), in the following year, 1922, the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly passed two resolutions in order to maintain these contributions. Firstly, "That a Self-denial and Gift Week in March on behalf of the Missionary Society be recommended to the Churches for their support."⁵³⁸ Secondly, "That the Committee be recommended to develop through Missionaries the habit of systematic giving by the members of our Native Churches."⁵³⁹ By 1923, these resolutions seem to have been effective because contributions from native churches increased to: Kaffraria and the Transkei Native Churches (£116.2s.11d.); Pondoland Native Churches (£45.15s.0d.); Tembuland Native Churches (£39.14s.11d.); and Transvaal Native Churches (£325.10s.6d.).⁵⁴⁰ The same was the case in 1924, during which contributions were as follows: Kaffraria (£109.15s.11d.);

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁶ The 29th Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, pp. 43-44.

⁵³⁷ The 29th Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 42.

⁵³⁸ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1922 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 46.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.* The contributions from native mission stations by the close of the 1922 financial year were: Kaffraria and Transkei Churches (£97.4s.7d.); Transvaal Native Churches (£110.14s.8d.); Pondoland Native Churches (£41.1s.0d.); Kafuafuta Native Churches (£2.15s.0d.); and Tembuland Native Churches (£29.4s.8d.) (SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending 30th June 1922, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 56.).

⁵⁴⁰ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1922 to 30th June 1923, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 68.

Transkei (£10.7s.8d.); Pondoland (£56.17s.9d.); Transvaal (£353.2s.9d.); Tembuland (£35.19s.9d.); and Lambaland (£6.2d.8d.).⁵⁴¹

Reflecting on these contributions, the SABMS Treasurer in his report during the Missionary Session of the 1924 BU Assembly, made one of the most explicit statements concerning the purpose that these contributions were used for: "The Native contribution was welcomed as a mark of increasing co-operation in bearing the burden of the work, and a nearer approach to the principle that the Committee aims at of getting the Natives to support their own workers and meet also the ordinary incidental expenses of the stations apart from [the priority of meeting] the cost of European oversight."⁵⁴² But native workers also exercised oversight of mission fields especially in the absence of European missionaries. For example, in the same year, Rev Brailsford, Superintendent of Pondoland, while visiting East Griqualand reported "on the work of Mr Mashologu as being well organized on sound lines and self supporting in 15 principal centres, with the aid of 2 or 3 evangelists, from Xameni as headquarters."⁵⁴³ Two years later, in 1926, the BU at "this Assembly [placed] ... on record its gratitude and thanksgiving for the amount contributed by the Native Churches during the past year which is a record contribution and which more than covers Native Salaries."⁵⁴⁴ These contributions were: Durban Mission (£4.3s.11d.); Glen Grey (£44.9s.10d.); Kaffraria (£263.19s.6d.); Lambaland (£8.6s.9d.); Pondoland (£63.4s.9d.); Transkei (£14.11s.1d.); and Transvaal (£467.1s.9d.).⁵⁴⁵

In addition, in East Griqualand and Alfred County, the converts there were reported to be "evangelising the kraals and contributing to the support of an evangelist and teacher as well as giving their quota towards the minister's salary."⁵⁴⁶ In total, these native contributions amounted to £865.17s.7d., while the native evangelists' salaries in the same year amounted to £443.10s.0d.⁵⁴⁷ In the following year contributions came from: Natal Mission (£2.0s.8d.);

⁵⁴¹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1923 to 30th June 1924, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 61. Each of these mission stations was now referred to by the extended title of "Native Mission Church."

⁵⁴² Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1924 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 36.

⁵⁴³ The 32nd Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 17.

⁵⁴⁴ Minutes of the 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 34.

⁵⁴⁵ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1925 to 30th June 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 43.

⁵⁴⁶ SABMS Annual Report of 1926-1927 for the 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 22.

⁵⁴⁷ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1925 to 30th June 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 42.

Kaffraria (£146.18s.8d.); Pondoland (£120.8s.6d.); Transvaal (£374.17s.4d.); and Transkei and Glen Grey Mission (£66.7s.0d.).⁵⁴⁸ In total, these contributions amounted to £710.12s.2d., while native salaries were added up to £502.5s.6d.⁵⁴⁹ As earlier indicated and as will later⁵⁵⁰ be observed, the natives gave more to the SABMS than merely money. For example, in 1929, Rev Joyce, Superintendent of the Transvaal, reported: "Nigel rejoices in a church and a manse built at his own expense by the Rev S. R. Pule, who controls the largest membership of any Transvaal circuit, and does a great deal of travelling."⁵⁵¹ And as discussed above, some natives gave land to the SABMS.

The argument could be advanced that native evangelists had lesser responsibility than European missionaries. If this was the case, the critical question is: What lesser responsibility? Related to this question is another: Was it not the natives who served as Baptist mission agents to their un-Christianized fellow natives? If responsibility, in the context of the history of mission amongst the natives, is to be solely understood as overseeing mission fields, there is however ample evidence of natives doing this. The earliest record, as discussed was in 1913, at Lukolo in Pondoland. This was when the probationer missionary, Rev Peinke, had "gone to Glasgow for a course of training, [and] the work being in the temporary charge of a Native preacher."⁵⁵² Again in Pondoland, in 1916, this time, during Rev Joyce's (the Superintendent's) "seven months absence in the Transvaal, this work has been in the charge of Rev M. J. Mntwini [sic]."⁵⁵³

In the Transvaal, the first record of mission field supervision by natives was in 1923: "During the absence on furlough of Mr and Mrs Joyce the work in these widespread districts has been well carried on by the Native Ministers under the leadership of W. E. Ostrich from Pretoria."⁵⁵⁴ In the same year, in Northern Rhodesia, "Lambaland had suffered from the absence of Mr and Mrs Cross and Miss Doke on furlough, but splendid help has been given

⁵⁴⁸ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1926 to 30th June 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 63.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

⁵⁵⁰ See Chapter 8.

⁵⁵¹ SABMS Report for 1928-1929 for the 1929 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 13.

⁵⁵² The 21st Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1914 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 38.

⁵⁵³ The 24th Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1916 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1915-1916, p. 33.

⁵⁵⁴ The 32nd Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1924 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 19.

by the Native Christians, especially, David, Paul, and Joshua, in carrying on the work.”⁵⁵⁵ Lastly, in Kaffraria, the SABMS Committee reported that the “past year [1927] has been one of extreme difficulty ... owing to the absence of a Superintendent since the lamented death of the Rev C. W. Pearce.”⁵⁵⁶ As a result, “Rev S. Mashologu, our native leader in East Griqualand, took over the temporary charge of Kaffraria under the oversight of our local ministers, Revs T. Aitken and J. A. Baier.”⁵⁵⁷ But in the same report the Committee added: “We are glad to report that with the arrival from America of Rev B. Pape, B.A., and Mrs Pape, this field is now provided with a Superintendent who will be able to carry on the traditions of this important sphere.”⁵⁵⁸

6.6.2. Funds for native ministers

In comparison to finance available to BU ministers and the SABMS’s European workers, it is depressing to note that there was only one fund for native workers. This was the “Pension Fund for Native Ministers.” In the *Lott Carey Mission Report* under a section entitled “Affiliated Missions,” Rev Mashologu reported that “the income of the Churches was very poor, but nevertheless they were anxious to form a Pension Fund for Native Ministers on the lines of the Baptist Union Pension Fund, and a humble start has been made.”⁵⁵⁹ This was in 1921. But this report remained all that was to become of the Pension Fund for Native Ministers. The fund never materialized even though the native churches kept sending their contributions, as discussed above, into the SABMS coffers. Worst, the BU’s European ministers and the SABMS’s European workers kept benefiting and were to further benefit from other new funds that were to be formed even after 1927.⁵⁶⁰ This meant, among other consequences that native ministers and evangelists retired in poverty. In some instances, it was even more difficult for these native workers to retire.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁶ SABMS Annual Report of 1927-1928 for the 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 9.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁹ The 29th Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 48.

⁵⁶⁰ See Chapter 8 and Chapter 9.

⁵⁶¹ See Chapter 8.

6.7. Conclusion

6.7.1. Synopsis

It is indubitable that the European Baptist workers enjoyed more benefits than their native counterparts. Most, if not all, of the funds that were established in the BU and the SABMS were for their benefit. These funds can be grouped into five categories. These were: funds for European ministers and their wives, funds to generate capital for the BU, funds for the administration of the BU, funds for the administration of the SABMS, and funds for the benefit of SABMS missionaries. These funds are, however, not exclusive of each other. Since it was the BU, a European led body, which administered these funds for the benefit of its European workers, including those of the SABMS, money easily crossed over among these five categories. That is, if there were a shortage on the one hand of money for the benefit of European ministers and wives, while on the other there was a surplus in the funds for the administration of the BU, the BU executive (through the BU Assembly) would transfer the needed sum. The same was the case with the SABMS's funds.

Regarding the first category, that is, funds for European ministers and their wives, the first fund formed was the Annuity Fund. It was formed in 1894, "for invalid [European] ministers and widows."⁵⁶² In 1905, the fund's name was changed to the Baptist Union Annuity and Insurance Fund. This time, its objective was: "To ensure that every [European] Minister-in-charge and Missionary shall have his life insured for at least £250."⁵⁶³ In 1909 the fund's name was again changed. This time it was called the Annuity or Old Age Pension Fund for "aged Ministers which shall be obligatory and contributory, and the same commended to all Ministers, Missionaries, Churches and Mission Station within the [Baptist] Union with a view to the immediate acceptance of such a scheme."⁵⁶⁴ Supplementing the Pension Fund was the Emergency Fund that was formed as early as 1892. It started as a "small sum of money raised for the bereaved family [of the late Mr Charles Bush]."⁵⁶⁵ In 1911 the BU Assembly passed the resolution that "the present Emergency Fund, be continued as a separate Fund by the Committee of Management of the [Baptist] Union Pension Fund and be used by

⁵⁶² Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 34.

⁵⁶³ Minutes of 1905 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 66.

⁵⁶⁴ Minutes of 1909 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1908-1909, p. 23.

⁵⁶⁵ Report of the BU Executive to the 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 45.

them confidentially to aid Ministers or Churches who, in their opinion are in need of such assistance.”⁵⁶⁶ Prospects of the fund’s growth remained positive, to the extent that in 1927 when its management was brought “under the control of the Executive of the Baptist Union,”⁵⁶⁷ the Jubilee Fund, formed in the same year, was established especially to raise £3,500 in order to augment it. As a result, from 1929 onwards the fund began investing in government loans.

Even though there was an Emergency Fund that the Management Committee of the Pension Fund could use at its discretion to aid European ministers, the BU put more effort into supplementing the European ministers’ stipends. The first of these efforts was in 1920, with the formation of the Centenary Fund. It was created to become a “nucleus of a Ministerial Sustentation Fund, the interest there-from to be used towards the support of the Ministry in weaker Churches.”⁵⁶⁸ In the following year, 1921, the Ministers’ Stipend Augmentation Fund was formed. It was formed with the purpose of releasing ministers “from anxiety as to temporal matters.”⁵⁶⁹ It was followed in 1922 by the Central Sustentation Fund, which was formed “for the adequate support of our Ministry.”⁵⁷⁰

Continuing the above principles, though this time for a different purpose, were funds formed to generate capital for the BU. These funds were: the 20th Century Fund (1899), Colonial Aid Society (1903), Loan Fund (1904), Meyer Loan Fund (1912), 100,000 Shillings Fund (1911), Centenary Fund (1919), and the Jubilee Fund (1927). Like most BU funds, the purpose of these funds is reflected in their names. For example, the Colonial Aid Society was formed in order that the Baptists at home (Britain) could aid those in the colony of South Africa. At “home,” this society used some of the following means in order to raise money for Baptists in the colony: appeals to churches on Colonial Sunday, share certificates, and lectures on religious life and work in South Africa. These lectures included “a collection of the most typical and interesting slides, ... [presenting] natives in the towns, on the mines and in the

⁵⁶⁶ Minutes of 1911 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 27.

⁵⁶⁷ Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 34.

⁵⁶⁸ Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 26.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

⁵⁷⁰ Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1925, p. 29.

kraals.”⁵⁷¹ Funds were raised through such efforts, as a result of the Society’s objectives, which included among others “mission work ... as work amongst the Coloured Races rather than among Natives, so as to include Malays, Coolies, Chinese etc., amongst whom such work was urged as being necessary.”⁵⁷² However, on receipt of such funds, most of the money was distributed to European churches and the General Fund, which was a fund that catered for any other expenses not specified.

The third category consists of BU administrative funds. As discussed above, when a fund was either discontinued or amalgamated with another, the capital of the discontinued fund was used to start the new fund. Two particular funds fall under this category. These are the BU Trust Fund (1920) and the Rhodesian Fund (1926). The BU Trust Fund was an amalgamation of the Meyer Loan Fund, 100,000 Shillings Fund and the Centenary Fund, while the Rhodesian Fund commenced with capital generated by the Northern Committee as early as 1896. The Rhodesian Fund was an administrative fund for the lands that the BU had purchased in Rhodesia. Further, it was through this fund that the salaries of the European workers in Rhodesia were paid.

Like the third category, the fourth category consists of administrative funds, in this case, those of the SABMS. As with the BU, the SABMS also established its own Trust Fund in 1922, primarily as a holding fund for a number of funds. Interestingly, in order to increase the fund’s assets to £10,000 by 1927, the 1925 BU Assembly passed a resolution to establish an Insurance Scheme, which would be used for this purpose. This Insurance Scheme became another of the many benefit funds which the missionaries enjoyed.

The fifth and the last category is that of the missionaries’ benefit funds. These are funds which, like some BU funds, explicitly stated that they were for the benefit of the European missionaries and their families. Some of these were: the Education Policy for the children of missionaries (1906) and the BU Pension Fund, which also covered the SABMS’s missionaries. Besides these funds, the SABMS missionaries received other benefits such as: a

⁵⁷¹ The Objects of the [Colonial Aid] Society, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 119.

⁵⁷² Ibid., p. 118.

travelling allowance, a sick allowance, the purchase of horses, later the purchase of motor-cars, removal expenses, furlough leave, and other local expenses. These benefits were over and above their salaries, which were undoubtedly higher than those of the natives.

6.7.2. Exclusiveness and institutionalization of Baptist finance

It is depressing, as also earlier expressed, that there was only one fund for native personnel, named the Pension Fund for Native Ministers, in contrast to the more than ten funds established for European workers. Worse, there were no annual reports on this fund which could throw light on the running of its finances. As a result, it is difficult to further substantiate the level of disparity between these funds for European and native workers respectively. Baptist finance remained therefore almost entirely intended for the benefit of European workers and churches, whether European workers working amongst fellow Europeans or those working amongst the natives.

There are no records pertaining to this aforementioned native fund, but the issue is not only that it was a fund for the native ministers or that it also needed - and did not receive - much planning and fundraising. The lack of records further raises the issue that this fund was not an important aspect of Baptist history worth preserving in European eyes. This was because all other funds in the Baptist Church had yearly records of their administration. Further, the lack of records regarding this native fund has another meaning to it. That is, it was not treated as a "fund," in comparison to other funds for European workers. Firstly, this is because little thought and planning went into it. That is, while the intention to establish other European funds was announced in the annual BU Assemblies or during the annual Missionary Sessions of the BU Assemblies, there is no record of such announcements concerning this native fund. Secondly, unlike other European funds, there are no records of the objectives of this fund.

Even though the native ministers had no fund to cater for their "temporal wants" literally speaking, it was from their own local native churches and branch stations that contributions were raised and sent to the SABMS. These contributions were raised in the form of quarterly contributions, tithes, special offerings, offerings and collection cards, among others.

Moreover, some of these native ministers and evangelists personally paid for the costs of their church buildings while others even gave land to the Baptist Church, through donation to the SABMS. A critical question is: Why would these native workers offer so much to a church that did not care for them? Further: Could it be as a result of the type of Christianization they were socialized into?

These questions indeed serve to highlight the nature of the relationship between the European and native Baptist workers. That is, it was a relationship of co-dependency. The European workers, on the one hand, were dependent on their native counterparts in order to access mission fields.⁵⁷³ But more than that, on the other hand, they relied on their native counterparts to communicate to fellow natives the necessity of offering money for the upkeep of the mission stations and the administration of the SABMS. Further, they also relied on these native workers as a necessary link to these mission fields, which for them served as evidence why more funds ought to be raised overseas for this work. The natives were in turn, also dependent on their European counterparts. Firstly, it was through the Europeans that the native worker received “his salary”, even though it was raised in the native church. Secondly, it was because of the Europeans that the native employee received “recognition” in the eyes of the civil authorities. That is, without having a European Superintendent, the native worker and his church would be classified as sectarian.⁵⁷⁴ This relationship, however, was not mutually co-dependent. The European workers benefited, financially speaking, much more from it, as discussed above. But more than this, there was a further subjugation of natives, this time by means of civil and theological education, as discussed in the next chapter.

⁵⁷³ See Chapter 4.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

Chapter 7

Native Training Institutions and Revision of the BU Constitution (1928-1949)

Leonie¹ provides an interesting survey of the history of the South African churches' involvement in native education. Briefly, according to Leonie: "It was the missionary who first organized the educational needs of the Bantu for it was he who felt it necessary to first teach the Bantu to read and write before they could have any appreciation for the Bible and Christianity."² Quoting MacMillian's argument, he highlights that: "the missionary was the greatest force for change in the Bantu's life."³ It was reported, according to Leonie, that just before the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 there were 699 mission schools in the Cape Colony. Among these was the Glasgow Missionary Society, "a very zealous society ... remembered for its establishment of the Lovedale Institution, which has supplied Africa with some of its ablest non-White teachers and pastors."⁴ Summing up his argument, Leonie stated: "The historical development of Bantu education can be separated into four sequential stages."⁵ These were: "Purely church responsibility and control until 1854; Recognition and subsidizing by colonial and later provincial government, 1854-1925; Joint control by the Department of Native Affairs and provincial government; and Bantu-Education since 1954."⁶ Throughout this shift, theological training remained the domain of the churches, at church owned institutions. Most such institutions did not solely focus on theological training.

Some of them institutions are as follows. After the Lutherans set up their first mission, at Hermannsburg in Natal, in 1854, "the second station, Ehlanzeni, [was] set up [as] the first seminary for indigenous evangelists in 1870."⁷ The Methodists opened their first native training

¹ Leonie, D. (1965). *The Development of Bantu Education in South Africa: 1652 to 1954*. Montana: Montana State College. [Unpublished PhD Thesis.]. Unfortunately, his work is not critical of the nature of this involvement; this lack is also reflected in his discursive language.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³ MacMillian, W. M. (1929). *Bantu, Boer and Briton: The Making of the South Africa Problem*, p. 10, quoted in Leonie, D. *Op. Cit.*, p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Scriba, G., & Listerud, G. "Lutheran Missions and Churches in South Africa," in Elphick, R., & Davenport, R. *Op. Cit.*, p. 176.

institution, named Healdtown,⁸ in 1866. This was followed by another, named Clarkebury,⁹ in 1875.¹⁰ Lastly, in the Roman Catholic Church, the first South African black candidates had initially been sent to Rome in the 1880s and the 1890s for training as priests. “South African congregations ran modest seminaries and novitiates of their own, but not until 1948 did a national South African seminary open for the training of diocesan priests.”¹¹ It was about the same time (1947), that the Baptist Church of South Africa commenced seriously¹² with the training of native ministers.

7.1. The Ennals Institute: Native Training in Pondoland

In Chapter 5 we discussed the formation of the Pondoland Training Institute, also referred to as the Arthington Institute, named after the Arthington Trust, from which it received funding. Rev Chapman, who also presented a Training Scheme for the training of native evangelists, opened this Institute in 1912. However, by 1920, there was a perception within the Baptist Church that the Institute was consuming a great deal of labour and expense. Prior to this concern becoming an official assembly resolution, passed during the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly, there was “absolute” silence about the running of the Institute. The Institute was neither mentioned in field reports, Missionary Sessions of the BU Assembly, the BU Assembly itself, nor reflected in the yearly financial statements of either the BU or the SABMS. With the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church in 1927, there was a renewed interest in the establishment of a native training institution. The Missionary Session of the 1927 BU Assembly requested the executive of the SABMS “to consider the possibility of inaugurating a scheme for the establishment of an institution for training Native Missionaries and Ministers, and furnish a report to the next

⁸ This institution was named after Mr Heald and his sister, of Manchester, who offered a gift of money to render its founding possible.

⁹ This institution was at a mission station called Clarkebury, founded in 1830, and named after Dr Adam Clarke (Eveleigh, W. 1923. *The Story of a Century 1823-1923*. Cape Town: Methodist Publishing House, p. 17.).

¹⁰ Eveleigh, W. (1923). *The Story of a Century 1823-1923*. Cape Town: Methodist Publishing House, p. 32. Other institutions that followed, though not strictly for the training of native evangelists, were: Shawbury Institution (1881), Bensonvale (1881), Buntingville (1883), Edendale (1890), Imfundisweni (1916) and at Salt River (1917), in Cape Town for Coloured students (Ibid., p. 33).

¹¹ Brain, J. “Moving from the Margins to the Mainstream: The Roman Catholic Church,” in Elphick, R., & Davenport, R. *Op. Cit.*, p. 201.

¹² As early as 1912, there were attempts to establish a training institution for native ministers and evangelists. But these were never sustained and consistent.

Assembly.”¹³ It is from this 1927 resolution that the chapter traces the development of native training after the ‘historic’ formation of the Bantu Baptist Church in 1927. This development of native ministers and evangelists’ training institutions resulted in the founding of the Ennals Institute in 1930, for example.

After the 1927 resolution, the next attempt to realize the founding of a native training institution appeared in the *Kaffraria Field Report* of 1928. The SABMS Committee in presenting this report first acknowledged: “We are glad to report that with the arrival from America of Rev. B. Pape, B. A., and Mrs. Pape, this field is now provided with a Superintendent who will be able to carry on the traditions of this important sphere. We extend to Mr. and Mrs. Pape the heartiest of welcomes and wish for them many years of happy service in our midst. As Mr. Pape is the son of the late Mr C. Pape of Berlin, our first missionary in Kaffraria, the earliest and latest stages of our missionary work are thus closely linked together.”¹⁴ The *Report* continued, “It is hoped that with the settlement of Mr. Pape it will found possible later to realise our dream of a Training Institution for our native evangelists. We are waiting the return of Dr Ennals to report to us [with] what success he has met with Overseas [donors] in seeking to obtain needed funds for this new venture. The members of our Executive have always kept before them this great and outstanding need for the provision of training and educating our native workers and only the lack of money and a suitable leader has hindered its materialisation. Time will be needed for Mr. Pape to settle into this new sphere and to link together the scattered parts of his wide field.”¹⁵

Mr Pape, the new Superintendent of Kaffraria, replaced Rev C. W. Pearce who had died in 1927. As discussed in the previous chapter, that is, in the interim period prior to Pape’s arrival, “Rev S. Mashologu, our native leader in East Griqualand, took over the temporary charge of Kaffraria under the oversight of our local ministers, Revs T. Aitken and J. A. Baier.”¹⁶ Again, as discussed in the previous chapters, this is one among many instances during which natives oversaw mission fields, the leadership of which was “reserved” to be exercised by European Superintendents.

¹³ Missionary Session of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 43.

¹⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1927-1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 9.

¹⁵ Ibid. Even in the first report about the first BBC Assembly, the SABMS committee reaffirmed that a “matter of greater urgency and importance is the provision of a Training centre for our native ministers and evangelists and this must receive prior consideration.” (Ibid., p. 17.).

The first substantial report about the new native institution appeared in the *SABMS Annual Report for 1928-1929*. In it, it is recorded that: "A Training Institution has been the subject of anxious consideration during the year and the Rev B. Pape has sketched a very workable plan. No definite conclusion has yet been reached as to its site and other details. A bequest has been announced of £1,000 towards the scheme but is not available yet. The underlying difficulty of the situation is one of finance. Mr A. H. King spent a great deal of time and energy in the United States and Canada last year seeking to gain support for this work, and he hopes that some may be forthcoming. He has also to interest leading men in Britain. Nothing definite has yet eventuated, but it would be much more likely of realisation if our assembly could first rise to the height of the challenge of the need, of which we are most acutely conscious. It would do more than anything else to raise the quality of our work throughout the country."¹⁷

In other words, the *Report* argued that besides seeking funding overseas, the BU Assembly should be willing to raise such money among its members. This is no doubt an interesting challenge posed by a European-led SABMS to a European-led BU Assembly. But why such a challenge? Could it be that the subservient role, which the natives at this new institution would be trained for, would after all be for the benefit of the Europeans? The assembly rose to this height because during the Missionary Session of the 1929 BU Assembly, a motion was moved by Dr. J. Edgar Ennals, B.A., and seconded by Rev. A. J. Cross, which the session unanimously passed out as follows:

That this Assembly rejoices to learn that the Executive is considering a scheme for an institute for training Native Ministers. It desires them to proceed as soon as possible with the establishment of such an institute. It rejoices that we have £490 towards its inauguration, and refers the whole matter to the Executive with power to act, on condition that no financial obligation beyond £1,200 in all be undertaken without further authority from the Assembly.¹⁸

In the same BU Assembly, all Rules and Regulations at present in force governing the matter of

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1928-1929, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 17. During the Missionary Session of the 1929 BU Assembly, a motion moved by Rev Thomas Chapman and seconded by Mr A. W. Davis, which the Session unanimously carried out, read: "That the Assembly bears with much appreciation and satisfaction of the promise of £1,000 earmarked for the inauguration of the proposed institution for training Native Evangelists, and expresses its thanks to the intending donor." (Missionary Session of 1929 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 36.).

¹⁸ Missionary Session of 1929 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 37.

“[European] Ministerial Recognition [were] rescinded”¹⁹ and new ones were adopted. These rules, in brief, as will be observed, were divided into three parts namely: recognition of probationers, recognition of ministers, and revision of the Ministerial Roll.²⁰ Following the 1929 motion, in the Annual Report for 1929-1930, the SABMS Committee reported another step forward: “What will probably most clearly mark the past year in the annals of the Society is the purchase of a property at Berlin²¹ for a Training Institute for our Native ministers and evangelists. This was made possible without cost to the Society by a grant of £250 from the Arthington Bequest, and £250 from the Baptist Colonial Society, with a further private gift of £500, and to these donors the thanks of the Society is expressed very cordially. These sums met the purchase price, repairs and transfer of the property.”²² The committee further reported that, “The Rev. B. Pape, B.A., has already taken up his residence there. Now it remains for us to equip it as an institution and provide for its maintenance. At present we have only a property, providing a humble foundation on which to erect an institution of spiritual equipment, which in time may become the nerve of all our work. The Native ministers are already seeing it as a door of hope, through which they and their sons may pass to a larger life of greater usefulness and fitness for their task.”²³ Expressing the same kind of sentiments as when the BBC was formed, the Europeans hoped that natives would come to fuller responsibility. In concluding its joyous *Report*, the committee reported, “May the day dawn when we shall have a trained Native ministry, which can look to this as the natal year of their *alma mater*!”²⁴

But the formation of this institution should in no way give the impression that it would be a native - led or owned - institution. Rather, white control, the same that decided, when the BBC was formed, how it would equip the natives to be useful and fit for their task, prevailed in this institution. This attitude was also evident in other related native aspects around which the Europeans avoided “native responsibility,” if not “liability.” In the same *Report*, for example,

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ See Chapter 9.

²¹ Berlin is a town in the Eastern Cape. It was founded, together with another town called Stutterheim (See Chapter 1), by the German military settlers of 1857. Tshabo Mission, the first mission work by the South African Baptists, which was initiated by the German Baptists, was situated next to this town (See Chapter 4.). Further, according to the *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, Berlin was situated “14 miles east of King Williams Town” (Ibid., p. 27.).

²² SABMS Annual Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 13. This private gift came from Mr Ennals, will later be noted.

²³ SABMS Annual Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 13.

²⁴ Ibid.

appeared one of the most explicit SABMS positions on pension funds for native ministers. It was reported that the Rev. W. E. Ostrich had suffered severely from illness and had been obliged to relinquish his active work. "In view of his long service to the Baptist cause in the Transvaal a pension has been given him."²⁵ But the Committee quickly cautioned: "our funds will not permit at present of making this a general rule."²⁶ Rather, "[we the SABMS] welcome the more heartily the plans made by the Natives themselves to extend and permanently establish their own pension fund."²⁷ In other words, only when it is convenient and when the SABMS is not "financially liable," is it interested in "assisting" the natives. But as long as the SABMS (including the BU) having to part with its own funds without any return, the natives must keep to their "own" affairs and territory.

Concerning Rev Ostrich, who is the same minister who in 1927, when the BBC was formed, spoke on behalf of the Northern Council:²⁸ the Transvaal field, his area of work, had in the same year, under Rev Joyce, its Superintendent, formed the (Native Ministers) Sustentation Fund, from which all ministers were paid. According to Rev Joyce's field report: "Into this fund all monies are paid and it not only helps our Superintendent to equalise salaries but it is easier to change ministers from one sphere to another. The Society helped in the formation of this fund by making a monthly grant of £15 to Mr. Joyce and this will be reduced yearly until the native churches can maintain it unaided."²⁹

The purpose of the SABMS's Annual Reports was to inform European churches about mission work and to recommend issues for discussion during the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly. But the SABMS Committee's unhappiness in providing funds to Rev Ostrich during his sickness, for example, which of course raised awareness among the readers of this report about the absence of a native pension fund, was never discussed during the Assembly's Missionary Session. On the contrary, the BU Sessions of the Assembly celebrated the completion of the Jubilee Fund. The Assembly's resolution read:

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁸ See Chapter 5.

²⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1927-1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 11.

That upon the practical completion of the Jubilee Fund this Assembly desires reverently and gratefully to place upon record its faith that GOD'S blessings had been upon it from its inception to its close. In order to mark the Jubilee of the [Baptist] Union the Assembly in 1927 determined to raise £3,500 to complete the [European] Ministers' Pension Funds and to do this in three years. Our Union and Missionary Funds were straitened at the time and many fears were entertained concerning the effect of this special effort upon these. With deep thankfulness we record the receipt of £3,360 with £450 in promises outstanding (the major portion of which we believe will be redeemed) and that during that period none of our funds have suffered depletion, but rather have shown a slight growth.³⁰

It was against this background of imbalanced and racially defined finances within the Baptist Church that the Institute was opened in 1930. During the Missionary Session of the 1930 BU Assembly, it was recorded that "this Assembly hereby expresses its gratitude to God that the long cherished hope of a training centre for Native Ministers and Evangelists has at last been realised, in part, in the opening of the Institute at Berlin."³¹ It was also recorded: "The Assembly records its warmest thanks to Dr. J. E. Ennals and Mrs. Ennals for their munificent gift of £500 which, together with gifts from the Arthington Fund and the Baptist Colonial Society, has made the beginning of the work possible, and for their intimation of their intention to make a further provision for the Institute in the form of a bequest. Further, the Assembly requests the Missionary Executive to prepare and place in a suitable position in the Institute buildings a plain tablet or panel recording the reasons for the name chosen, specially mentioning the name of the late Rev. Sidney W. Ennals and his service unto death for Christ in China, thus linking Missionary devotion and service in the two continents, to the inspiration of students of the future."³²

To this resolution, "the Assembly rose unanimously to support [it and] the doxology being sung."³³ As for the name, the Assembly "agreed that the name of the Institute be The Ennals Institute for the training of Native Baptist Ministers and Evangelists."³⁴ Furthermore, it was also

³⁰ Minutes of 1930 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 23.

³¹ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1930 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 29.

³² Ibid., pp. 29-30. Ennals died in 1899, in China, during the Boxer Rebellion took place. About the Boxer Rebellion, Gonzalez explains: "The Chinese had had enough of Western influence and meddling and responded with viciousness in what is called the Boxer Rebellion. The Boxers were a 'Society of harmonious Fists.' By 1900 the Boxers had decapitated all they considered foreign. Chinese Christians, missionaries, other outlanders and those who sided with the West were butchered. In Beijing foreign delegates were beset, but an integrated western troop rescued them. Finally, the rebellion was brought to a halt by forces of the west and monarchical rule was forced to effect the significant changes." (Gonzalez, J. L. 1985. *The Story of Christianity*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, p. 313.).

³³ Ibid., p. 30.

³⁴ Ibid.

decided, "that this full name [would] be used in all official publications and stationery."³⁵ As for the appointment of a Committee to run the Institute, this matter was referred to the Missionary Executive to deal with. Finally, "The handing over of the property by Dr. Ennals to the Missionary Society, and the official opening of the Institute took place on Saturday afternoon, September 20th [1930], in connection with which an avenue of over 70 Jacaranda trees was planted, a donation of £1 being made towards the Institute fund for each tree planted."³⁶

The opening of the Institute was a much-awaited event in the SABMS's calendar. This is because, immediately following its opening, the SABMS Committee reported in the following year's annual report:

The Institute is opening the door of hope to our Native brethren, and kindling high expectations, such as we perhaps do not realise, but must not disappoint. We have already received applications from two men, one already ordained, and the other an evangelist. There are doubtless other young men ready as soon as we can start. Before that we have buildings to erect, and equipment to provide. Then there will be the cost of maintenance of pupils, and in some cases their wives. To meet this, all we have at the present is the money raised by tree planting, and in the forthcoming years, the £72 per annum saved to the B.M.S. funds in house rent by the provision of the building. Owing to the financial stringency, this has been absorbed in the general fund this year. In the better education of our Native ministry [lies] the fuller grounding of their people in the fundamentals of the faith, the urgent need of which this year's defections show.³⁷

These defections were primarily in the Kaffraria field. By 1931 however, the Institute had no building because "the old building known as the Institute has perforce been taken down, as no longer safe, and from some of the old material a smaller school is being built."³⁸ Nonetheless, in 1931, appeared for the first time, a detailed budget of the Institute. Briefly, according to this budget, the purchase of the property and related expenses amounted to £907.5.5 while repairs and alterations to it amounted to £123.17s.0d.³⁹ In total, the Institute's assets were £1,641.17s.6d., out of which £1,031.2s.5d. was the amount paid, the difference being the liabilities. Among the

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid. The Assembly also adopted the financial statement in connection with the Institute presented by Mr F. E. Blackwell. (Ibid.).

³⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 12.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1930 to 30th June 1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 46.

liabilities, £57.1s.11d. was loaned from the Baptist Union Pension Fund.⁴⁰ However, by 1932 it was reported in the *Annual Report for 1931-1932* that “the Ennals Institute has not yet been able to begin its beneficent work of training our Native preachers and evangelists, but some progress has been made.”⁴¹ The same *Report* also reported the deaths of Revs Ostrich and Mntwini (sic) and the first case ever of the restoration of a native minister, Rev Mokwena of Johannesburg West, to ministerial status.⁴² Rev Mokwena was possibly suspended after a disciplinary hearing.⁴³ To the widows of the deceased ministers, it was reported, “our sympathy has been conveyed accompanied by a small grant.”⁴⁴ By this date, a fund for the widows of deceased native ministers had still not been instituted.

Even though training at the Institute had not commenced, more funds were raised. These included among others, “a small regular income ... assured, which will be increased through a bequest from the late Mr. William Hay.”⁴⁵ In 1932, during the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly, Dr Ennals’ retirement as SABMS secretary after 12 years was announced. Concerning this, both the BU and the SABMS “resolve[d] to place on record in its Minutes, its deepest gratitude for the service rendered by him to the cause of the Lord Jesus Christ among the Native people of South Africa and Rhodesia.”⁴⁶ Further, “his devotion to the cause of Christ among the Native peoples of Africa has led him consistently to return to the Missionary Treasurer the honorarium allocated annually to the Secretarial office, and, with Mrs. Ennals - to whose whole hearted support of her husband in his work the Assembly desires to pay its warm tribute - to make a most generous contribution to the funds of the Ennals Institute for the training of Native Ministers and Evangelists, the establishment of which was long hoped for, and greatly needed, development which, in after years must, by God’s blessing, yield increasingly fruitful results.”⁴⁷ The Assembly also resolved, “That a special Missionary deputation be appointed to visit the [European] Churches and place before all the members and adherents the claims of the Missionary work of the

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 46-47.

⁴¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1931-1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 13.

⁴² Rev W. E. Ostrich laboured mostly in the Transvaal and Rev M. J. Mntwini, of Toleni, laboured in East Griqualand. On the one hand, while Rev D. S. Mokwena was restored to ministerial status, on the other, “one of our Native ministers has, we are grieved to report, been struck off the roll for misconduct.” (Ibid).

⁴³ See Chapter 5 concerning the discipline of native ministers.

⁴⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1931-1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 13.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1932 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 35.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 35-36.

Society, and the serious position of the finances of the Society, and that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee for consideration and action.”⁴⁸

By June 30th, 1932, being the second financial year since the Institute’s inception, its property value had remained at £1,031.2s.5d.,⁴⁹ the same as the year before. However, the Institute’s financial statement is not as detailed as the previous year’s. It therefore provides no further clue about the Institute’s funds. Further, the *SABMS Annual Report for 1932-1933* reported: “no progress has been possible with regard to the Ennals Institute during the past year.”⁵⁰ Furthermore, it was also reported that, “The matter has, however, engaged the very earnest attention of the Executive. After many hours of careful and prayerful consideration, we have been led to the conclusion that we cannot proceed with our original plan, by which the Superintendent of the Kaffrarian Field should also be the Principal of the Institute. These two offices will be separated and the Rev. B. Pape will continue as Superintendent of the Kaffrarian Field.”⁵¹ This notwithstanding, “It has been decided to proceed as soon as possible with the Institute as we receive guidance with regard to the leadership and other matters connected therewith. It is probable, and it is earnestly hoped, that the examination of our whole Missionary policy, which will be carried further during the coming year, will lead to such guidance, as we require. The earnest prayers of all our members are needed that this most essential branch of our work may be strongly established and as early as possible. It would be fitting if some advance could be made in Dr Ennals’ Presidential year.”⁵²

On the one hand, while the SABMS ensured that the working conditions of European Superintendents were not strenuous, in particular considering the health of its workers, those of the natives on the other hand continued unchanged. For example, in the same Annual Report, it is recorded concerning the changes in Glen Grey that: “The Executive have come very reluctantly to the conclusion that, on the grounds of health, the time has come for the retirement of our Lady Missionaries in Glen Grey. The six Churches will come under the pastoral oversight of Rev Philip Ngqoro. The Education Department has accepted our nomination of him as the manager of the

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴⁹ SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending 30th June 1932, in *BU Handbook for 1932-1933*, pp. 50-51.

⁵⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1932-1933, in *BU Handbook for 1933-1934*, p. 12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

five schools. The whole work will remain as before under the Superintendence of Mr Peinke.”⁵³

By this year, 1934, training was not yet being carried out at the Institute but funds for the purpose nonetheless kept coming. Interestingly, in the interim, the Institute’s property was being rented out. By the end of June 30th, 1933, £72 was received from rent.⁵⁴ In addition, part of the Institute’s accumulated funds was loaned to other structures within the BU. For example, the SABMS in its 1933 budget had £176.7s.8d. due to the Institute.⁵⁵ The value of the Institute’s property remained the same as the previous years. But from July 1st 1934, the Institute’s budget was from henceforth referred to as the Establishment Fund. By this time, the budget was £1,263.12s.1d. Reflected in it is the fact that the value of the Institute’s property remained the same, at £1,031.2s.5d., as in the previous years. The difference between the property value and the total amount of the Establishment Fund was accrued from the rent money.⁵⁶ Also at this time, there was on the Witwatersrand, another initiative to establish a training institution for native ministers and evangelists. This commenced in 1934. As will further be discussed, this institution was the Millard Training Institution. Reporting on this new venture, the SABMS Committee stated: “An important decision has been reached with regard to the training of Native Ministers by which the Executive hope that work may be started once on the Rand with the assistance of our B.M.S. staff and the Ministers in Johannesburg. This area will probably provide most of the recruits for training, and the wide scope for training will give the Rand a great advantage over any other centre. There are now funds available for a small beginning. It is proposed also to create a new Trust Fund for this purpose.”⁵⁷

Regarding the Ennals Institute, in 1935 it was reported, finally, “[that] training work is now being carried on at Berlin [at the Ennals Institute] and also at Johannesburg.”⁵⁸ Prior to commencing with this training, “it was hoped that training work might be carried [on] only at the Ennals Institute at Berlin, but it has been found by experience that it is not feasible to bring native

⁵³ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵⁴ SABMS Financial Statement for the year ended 30th June 1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 60.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 61.

⁵⁶ SABMS Financial Statement for the twelve months ended 30th June 1935, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 47. The year before, the total Fund’s amount was £1,271.0s.1d. (SABMS Financial Statement for the year ended 30 June 1934, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 51.).

⁵⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1933-1934, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 13.

⁵⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1935-1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 24.

workers from the Transvaal and the O.F.S. to Berlin.”⁵⁹ After years of planning and funds being raised, training at Berlin took place only for a short time. What is surprising is that regarding the Transvaal field whose institution was not reported on in more detail unlike the Ennals Institution at Berlin, it was reported about its first training session that “19 Ministers and Probationer Ministers met in November last [year] for about 10 days [for] lectures and addresses, and great benefit was derived by the native workers.”⁶⁰ From the Ennals Institute, the report on its training, also the first, was that “recently similar lectures were given in Kaffraria, and again the native workers expressed their very great appreciation of what has been done for them.”⁶¹ However, “the whole question of what might be done is being considered by two of the Field Committees, and it is hoped that something more adequate will be undertaken during this year. The need is very great.”⁶²

In the same report about the native training that finally took place at the Ennals Institute, the SABMS for the first time raised a concern about financial support for native workers. According to the SABMS Committee, “a considerable proportion of the income of the Missionary Society has been expended on the salaries of the native workers.”⁶³ The committee further stated, “these are not, in any single case, more than they should be; indeed in several cases, the salary ought to be increased, but the income of the Society has not been expanding at the same rate as the work.”⁶⁴ But this concern, genuine as it may sound, was in no way different from what had always been the SABMS’s primary interest; that is, safeguarding the interests of its European workers. For example, in the same report, it was mentioned that “at a recent Meeting of the Executive Committee the following Resolution was passed,”⁶⁵ that is, “That the general policy of the S.A.B.M.S. should be, that each Field should be self supporting in all other respects other than the payments of the salaries and expenses of the European Missionaries.”⁶⁶ This was one of the most explicit resolutions as to who took responsibility for the salaries of European missionaries. In other words, the payment of the European missionaries’ salaries took precedence over those of

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 25.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

the native workers.

Further, this resolution meant that the mission fields, which constituted of native converts, were to primarily cater for the payments of the salaries and other related expenses of the European Missionaries and Superintendents. Put explicitly, the report added that this step “means, that we ask the Native Christians to support their own workers.”⁶⁷ It is important to note that the native workers are referred to as “own workers” while European missionaries, whose sole responsibility in SA was to work among the natives are not referred to as “own workers” – yet the natives had to take primary responsibility to pay their salaries. Race was therefore used to distinguish that which is “own” and that which is “not own.” In spite of these racial categories, native work had by this period, grown to an extent that in a somewhat jubilant tone, it was reported that the : “Missionary work of the Denomination is well served by a splendid band of consecrated native men and women.”⁶⁸ These were: 25 ordained or probationer ministers; 31 evangelists and teachers; 417 honorary evangelists and preachers and 198 honorary women workers.⁶⁹ To further substantiate its decision that natives should support their “own workers,” being proof that “the workers do not receive too large salaries is [according to the committee] evident from the following statements made by our Missionaries.”⁷⁰ That is:

Rev. --- receives £1 per mensem, and he also receives food from his people. Rev. --- receives £1 per mensem, and he has some land under crops. Rev. --- has his house rent paid by us, and he receives what his members can give him. Rev. --- has free house and ten acres of land, and he receives what the members contribute, which is very little. Rev. --- receives what the people give, but they are very poor.⁷¹

Being commended that they are a “splendid band” that should be supported by their own people, which thus far had not been the case, the committee concluded its Report with the following:

All honour to these workers who so finely work on, year after year. But the ideal is that, where possible, the Native Christian should support their own people, and the Society is working with that

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 25.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

in view. It cannot all be done at once, but it is hoped that within the next year, or possibly in some special cases, two years, that the native Christians will have been able to shoulder the responsibility of their own Ministers and Evangelists.⁷²

The native Christians' "own workers" and "own people" were also students at the Ennals Institute. They would undergo training in this mentality of otherness and would be expected to work under their European superintendents, who would provide supposedly mature leadership over their apparently inferior otherness. In concluding the same report, the SABMS Committee reminded the European Churches and personal members of the Assembly about the "pressing Need," given that the natives "[who] are sunk in superstition, ... are steeped in sin, [and] ... have no hope for this life, or for that which is to come."⁷³ These natives "need the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to lift them up, and we have that message to give them."⁷⁴ In addition to the need, these natives are also making a "Call." That is, "'They want a Preacher to tell them about God, so writes one of our Missionaries. 'Send us a Preacher,' so they say, and he adds, 'All along the line there is a movement towards God. ... It makes our hearts glad.'"⁷⁵ By way of soliciting a response from European churches, the report urges the churches to "Rejoice with us, and pray for us, brethren!"⁷⁶ But the same attitude as before resounds, "'Send us a preacher,' so they say people in our own Fields. What is the response to be? Your Committee would not fail to respond to every such appeal that is made, but it is only a dispenser of what the Churches put into its hand to use. What will the Churches say? Obedience to the Lord's Commandment to 'Preach the Gospel to every creature' cannot but bring blessing to the Churches themselves. Let us, then, respond as God shall lead us!"⁷⁷

With this challenge posed to the European churches, another resolution pertaining to the further instruction of native ministers and preachers was passed. This was: "That in order to establish regular and systematic instruction for our Native Ministers and Lay Preachers the Southern and Northern Committees arrange for study courses in both Berlin and Johannesburg, and that funds

⁷² Ibid., p. 26.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 29.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

shall be provided, if necessary, to an amount not exceeding £50 altogether.”⁷⁸ This means native training at these institutions was not regular and systematic. The same Assembly further approved two important policies. But these concerned the training of European ministers and missionaries⁷⁹ and the recognition of European lay preachers.⁸⁰ These policies were very different from resolutions pertaining to natives’ ministerial education. The following extracts, for example, highlight the disparities that existed between the training and recognition of European ministers, missionaries and lay preachers, as compared to native ministers and lay preachers. According to the section on “Training” under Clause (d), entitled *Students under the Ministerial Education Committee* it is recorded: “Where possible Students shall be urged during their first year to attend University Classes, or to take University Correspondence courses, in English, Afrikaans, Logic, and Psychology. Where this is not possible these subjects shall be included in the first and second year’s courses set by the M. E. Committee. The Ministerial Education Committee shall be only responsible for the direction of the studies of approved Students and the arrangement of examinations, and shall submit regular reports to the Executive regarding the progress made by Students in their studies.”⁸¹

Concerning the recognition of lay preachers, the Assembly resolved that, “the Register of [European] Lay Preachers shall be revised by the Executive at least once in three years.”⁸² This is in huge contrast to the resolution on native lay preachers, which was passed as early as 1912. It read, “the Missionary Committees and District Committees be empowered to issue certificates to our accredited Evangelists. These certificates or licences to be renewed annually and to be renewable at the discretion of the [European-led SABMS] Committee.”⁸³ In other words, natives who cannot be left to exercise responsibility on their own and need constant checking.

⁷⁸ Minutes of the Missionary Session of 1936 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1936-1937*, pp. 76-77.

⁷⁹ The full name is “Regulations of the Baptist Union and the Baptist Missionary Society with regard to the Training and Recognition of Baptist Ministers and Missionaries.” The policy is divided into four parts, namely, Training; Ministerial Recognition; Ordination; and Revision of Ministerial Roll. Training is divided into: Acceptance of Candidates for Training; Qualifications required of Candidates for Training; Training of Accepted Candidates; Students under Ministerial Education Committee. Ministerial Recognition is divided into two parts: Recognition of Probationer Ministers; and Recognition of Fully Accredited Ministers. (*Minutes of 1936 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937*, pp. 61-66.).

⁸⁰ The full name is “Recognition of Lay Preachers.” The policy is divided into four parts, namely, Foundation Register; Additions to the Register; Removals from the Register and; The right of the Executive to ask for a report of work done by Lay Preachers. (*Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.).

⁸¹ Minutes of 1936 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1936-1937*, p. 63.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸³ Minutes of Missionary Session of 1912 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1912-1913*, p. 30.

Notwithstanding, the discrepancy between the European ministers' and missionaries' education and that of native ministers and evangelists, native training at the Ennals Institute continued. According to the *SABMS Annual Report for 1936-1937*, "During the year under review Training Classes for Native Workers were held in Johannesburg and Berlin. Some 20 workers attended in Johannesburg, the Ministers of the European Churches sharing with the Missionaries the work of giving the instruction. These classes are very necessary if our workers are to be fitted for their work. A longer course is being planned for workers in Kaffraria and the Transkei and is being held at Berlin in August and September of this year."⁸⁴

In the following year's annual report, training work in Berlin was reported as "being undertaken on a larger scale this year."⁸⁵ In Johannesburg, Rev Joyce, the Superintendent in charge, made money available "from [the] Millard Bequest for the erection of a building, probably at the Orlando Township, near Johannesburg, as a centre for training work for our men in the Transvaal, O.F.S. and Natal."⁸⁶ As training continued at the Ennals Institute, the property's value rose. That is, from £1,263.12s.0d. in 1935;⁸⁷ £1,324.6s.4d. (1936);⁸⁸ £1,339.8s.5d. (1937);⁸⁹ £1,335.8s.1d. (1938);⁹⁰ £1,378.17s.10d. (1939);⁹¹ to £1,401.11s.4d. in 1940.⁹² While the value of the property rose, the quality of education the native ministers and evangelists received still left a great deal to be desired.

Further, while the financial value of the Institute kept rising, new advances were also reported. Firstly, for example, in 1939, unlike the previous years, Rev B. E. Pape reported that "both the Young People's Union [of the German Bund] and the German Baptist Sunday School Association have made valuable contributions towards the work of the Institute."⁹³ Secondly, in the following year's (1941) *SABMS Annual Report*, the Ennals Institute's work is for the first time reported to be carried on in regular fashion. This was for the first time, the case. According to the *Report*, it is

⁸⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1936-1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 33.

⁸⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1937-1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 33.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ SABMS Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1935, in BU Handbook for 1935-1936, p. 47.

⁸⁸ SABMS Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 51.

⁸⁹ SABMS Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 57.

⁹⁰ SABMS Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 57.

⁹¹ SABMS Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 63.

⁹² SABMS Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 40.

reported: "The Executive Committee has for many years been doing whatever was possible to give better training to our native workers. The Committee gladly reports that the work of the Ennals Institute, under the Rev B. E. Pape, is now being regularly carried on, and three students are in training for the ministry. The Refresher Course, for workers not able to give any lengthy period to attending classes, has been held at the Institute, and has proved of very real benefit."⁹⁴

In the same *Report* on reads that "from the Millard Bequest, the Executive has been able to erect the Millard Training Institute at the Orlando Township, Johannesburg."⁹⁵ By November 1940, the Ennals Institute had its first graduate: Mr Mbekwa. Reporting on this, the *Report* mentioned: "The Institute continues to do good work of incalculable value in the training of future Native Ministers. An evidence of the progress made in this respect was a meeting of Europeans and Natives, held in the Berlin Church in November, 1940, in recognition of the fact that the Institute has sent out its first student to complete a training course (Mr Mbekwa)."⁹⁶

Also significant at the same time, November 1940, was the opening of the Millard Institute, in Orlando Township at Soweto, in Johannesburg.⁹⁷ By this period, South African Baptists were entering an era of "graduate" native leadership raised under the SABMS. Nevertheless, European missionaries argued that European guidance was still important. This argument, similar to the one the Europeans advanced at the founding of the NBCC in 1923 and the BBC in 1927,⁹⁸ further foregrounded the parental role Europeans believed they were predestined to exercise over the natives. For example, according to Rev W. Brailsford, Superintendent of Pondoland: "It is with feelings of thankfulness that we report on the work of the past twelve months, recognising that He has been with us, inspiring and strengthening us for our daily task. We thank Him also for all that He is doing through the Native Church, for the witness given and the service rendered by the Native Christians ... We pray that the Church may be kept pure, and free from the errors and extravagancies which are so easily picked up from Churches not under European guidance, that it may grow in fitness as a medium for the Holy Spirit's work, in influence and in power."⁹⁹

⁹³ Report of the BU Executive Committee presented at the 1939 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 13.

⁹⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1939-1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, pp. 13-14.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1940-1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 18.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁹⁸ See Chapter 5.

⁹⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1940-1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 18.

Coupled with the attitude that European guidance was necessary, Brailsford further continued with the SABMS Committee's argument that mission fields were to support their "own" native workers besides primarily supporting the European missionaries. He mentioned, "The income from Native sources was £139.8s.0d., which was an increase of £11 on the previous year. I should like to pay tribute to two Native ministers for the good done by them, and for the good example of their consistent lives. For the evangelists also we have cause to thank God."¹⁰⁰ To this, the SABMS Committee added: "Mr. Brailsford said that, at a recent meeting of the Eastern Native Council, the male Church members have decided to raise their personal contributions from 6 dimes to 2/6 per year for the purpose of supporting part-time evangelists. This evidence of the missionary spirit was noted with appreciation."¹⁰¹

Rev H. Peinke, Superintendent of Transkei, who also expressed appreciation of the Institute, while at the same time indicating the plight of native education, echoed Brailsford's sentiments. He reported:

We have had our disappointments during the year. Some falling into sin; others walking no more with us. For these we ask for special prayer. Yet, despite failures, the spiritual tone of the Native Church is rising; the leaders growing in grace and the knowledge of God. I do not know whether this can be attributed to the training courses given at the Ennals Institute. It is certainly due to the Spirit of God. In the Native Church we have had 88 baptisms and there are a number of others waiting. Contributions from the people amounted to £156 (this is an increase of £26 on the previous year). We are working hard to get the Native Church to be responsible for its own Ministers and Evangelists. Pondoland is supporting a Minister and two Evangelists. Tsomo supports its own minister. Next year we hope Idutywa will do the same. We are praying for blessing on this matter ... There are also four unaided schools in which the people do the best they can. When the people can collect funds they can get a teacher but the schools have to close down when the funds are exhausted and reopen when the people can afford it.¹⁰²

From the Transvaal field, a field that was established as early as 1900 and was "by far the biggest field in which the Society operates,"¹⁰³ came a similar report by Rev Eriksson, Superintendent in charge, about native Christians supporting their "own" workers. In his report, he confidently reported that the native workers were happy under European leadership.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 19-20.

Friends will rejoice with us in the 473 converts who have followed the Lord in the waters of baptism during the year. The membership now stands at 5,087, an increase of approximately 400, and the contributions of the Bantu Churches amounted to £731. The figure does not include the B.W.A. contribution. The sum given, which is very encouraging to us, proves that our Bantu Churches are making a real effort to reach the goal of self-support. This willingness to shoulder responsibility is to us a sign of spiritual growth. It is gratifying also to know that all our Churches, Ministers and Workers are most loyal to the S.A.B.M.S. and happy under European leadership. We can visualise a strong, self-supporting and spiritual Bantu Baptist Church within the Baptist Denomination in South Africa in the comparatively near future. While we seek under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to reach that aim, we wish again to urge our friends in the Churches to continue to help us with their prayers, their sympathy and their gifts.¹⁰⁴

Refresher courses and other forms of training courses continued at the Ennals Institute. By the end of June 1941, an amount of £36.1s.10d. had been reportedly spent on refresher courses while in the same period, for interest's sake £525 was spent on pensions for European missionaries.¹⁰⁵ In the following financial year, there is a record of another refresher course, which lasted for fourteen days. It was attended by 10 workers from June 24th to July 8th, and its costs amounted to £71.12s.2d. while, according to the SABMS committee, its "expenditure was again kept to a minimum."¹⁰⁶ Also in this Annual Report it is mentioned that in "December, 1941, a meeting was held in Berlin in connection with the graduation of Mr. Tylden Luxomo, the second student to complete the Institute course."¹⁰⁷ Particularly worth noting in the same *Report* is the name of the native staff member, Mr Lennox Soga, who also worked at the Institute. The Report does not mention whether or not he was part of the teaching staff, but reports that he "has been obliged for a time owing to illness."¹⁰⁸ But probably more than this, his name and infirmity are mentioned because, it is "by the generosity of a member of the Executive [a European, that] he is receiving adequate medical treatment."¹⁰⁹ The SABMS treasured these "financial handouts" to poor natives sufficiently to report them in the BU Handbooks, which were widely circulated.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

¹⁰⁵ SABMS Financial Statement for the twelve months ended 30th June 1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 46. The asset value of the Institute was by this time £1,415.7s.10d. (Ibid., p. 48.).

¹⁰⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 20.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

In light of the SABMS's continual assistance to the natives, among its "key" responsibilities, the SABMS Committee, in its *1942-1943 Annual Report*, came to the conclusion, "Recognizing that the Society is faced with problems and questions arising out of the development of the work and changes in general conditions, the Executive has appointed from its members a strong special committee, representative of all parts of the country, to consider the present activities and future policy of the Society and its administration, particularly in regard to extension, evangelisation, education, ministerial training, field supervision and other matters relating to the control and the work of the Society as a whole. The committee has been empowered to call others, for consultation, as it may deem desirable; it will be meeting immediately before the Assembly [of 1943] to decide on the more exact scope of its investigations and its method of procedure."¹¹⁰ The decision was to result, in 1944, in a complete overhaul of the missionary policy of the SABMS.¹¹¹ The 1944 missionary findings and the resulting policy proposed by the task team became a major turning point, as will be observed in the history of the South African Baptist missionary work. Regarding the discussion on ministerial training, the same *Report* added: "The matter of the training of our Bantu Ministers and Evangelists is receiving the Executive's earnest attention in the realisation that, with advances in Native education generally, the adequate educational equipment of those engaged in preaching and pastoral work becomes more and more important."¹¹²

Politically, during this period, since 1925, the Union Government had given the provinces fixed annual subsidies and, in addition, a proportion of the yield of the Native poll tax, wherewith to fund native education. Now that Jan Hendrick Hofmeyr, the prime minister, had handed over the whole of that yield to the Native Trust and was proposing to finance native education from the general revenue, new arrangements were plainly desirable. Hence, it was agreed that the provinces should revert to the pre-1925 footing, that is, that they should receive Union subsidies equal to half their expenditure from their own taxes, and that the Cape, Free State and Natal should receive special subsidies in return for their transfer to the Union of certain assigned sources of the revenue. A further Act, of 1945, duly provided the funds necessary for Native education, and a Union Advisory Council on Education was set up with a secretariat manned by the Native

¹¹⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943, in *BU Handbook for 1943-1944*, p. 26.

¹¹¹ See Chapter 8.

¹¹² SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943, in *BU Handbook for 1943-1944*, p. 26.

Affairs Department to ensure fuller co-ordination of the work of the provinces. The latter, assured of presumably adequate revenues and stimulation from above, might be expected to carry out their task of educating the vast majority of the country's people much more energetically than hitherto.¹¹³

By the end of 1942 there were four students taking the full-time course, and two new students were accepted in 1943. One of the students was from the African Presbyterian Church – a surprise, given that the SABMS disliked native-led churches.¹¹⁴ According to the principal, Rev B. E. Pape, “all the Baptist students are given preaching appointments during the week-ends, thus obtaining valuable practical experience in addition to their class work.”¹¹⁵ The Refresher course held towards the end of 1942 was described as “the biggest and best yet, no less than 15 men attending from all parts of the Southern Field.”¹¹⁶ Next to Pape's name appeared other names. That is, “the Revs. L. Baier, D. H. Hay, and B. Robbins, whose lectures [are described] to have been much appreciated by the students.”¹¹⁷ As for the number of graduates, it kept increasing because “arrangements [were] being made for a special service to mark the graduation of two students who will complete their courses this year [1943].”¹¹⁸

By 1943, 13 years after the formation of the Institute, only males were being trained there. According to the *Annual Report for 1943-1944*, “during the year under review six men have been in training, two of these successfully completed the training course in November last and gave excellent addresses at a service held to mark their graduation.”¹¹⁹ Admission into the Institute was only granted to those “[who] have passed Standard VI.”¹²⁰ Rev Pape, the Institute's principal, further mentioned: “the aim has been not merely to impart book knowledge but to increase the usefulness of students as preachers of the Living Word and as Pastors among their own people.”¹²¹ Continuing the argument that native Christians were supposed to cater for their own ministers, financially, the Institute's theological teaching, carried out by European ministers and

¹¹³ Walker, E. A. (1968). *A History of Southern Africa*. London: Longmans, pp.741-742.

¹¹⁴ See Chapter 5.

¹¹⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 27.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1943-1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 25.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

missionaries, further prepared these graduate ministers to be useful among their own people. Contrary to the Institute's educational requirements for admission, Rev Pape "expressed the opinion that Standard VI is a poor educational foundation upon which a Christian ministry may be trained to meet the increasingly complex problems that confront [the] Bantu, as well as European Ministers in these days."¹²² In the same *Report* appears a record about the fourth graduation service.

The Fourth Graduation Service of the Institute was held at Berlin in December, 1944. A representative congregation filled the Church. The Rev. D. H. Hay gave the chief address. Two leaving students gave brief addresses, both choosing to speak in English. Mr. Thomas Snyman spoke on 'Prayer' and Mr Sybert Nyamakazi on 'The Minister as Shepherd.' The ladies of [the European] Berlin Church again very willingly and generously provided and served refreshments.¹²³

In the same year, in February and March, the SABMS sent a deputation to visit all its mission fields. The Institute was also visited. The delegation's report presents a vivid description of the Institute hardly found in any sources. That is, the Institute "comprises 24 acres of farm land in the vicinity of the village of Berlin, 14 miles east of Kingwilliamstown, and a farm house with one out-building situated near the upper or eastern extremity of the farm. The house, which is in tolerably good order, contains four or five rooms, including a kitchen, and was for a short time occupied by Mr. & Mrs. Pape. It is now used entirely for the accommodation of Native students attending the Institute. The out-building contains three rooms, one of which is used as a classroom, and one as an office for the Principal. Twenty acres of the farm are sub-let and the income derived from this source is paid into a fund for additional buildings. The remaining four acres are occupied by the house and its environs and by mealie lands cultivated by the students. The whole is the freehold property of the S.A.B.M.S."¹²⁴ Concerning the residence, "The wife of one of the ministers in training acts as cook-housekeeper."¹²⁵ But "With this exception it is impossible for students to bring their wives into residence with them."¹²⁶

¹²¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 24.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., pp. 24-25. The following year "three students completed their third year, one completed his second year, and another entered as a beginner."

¹²⁴ Missionary Survey of 1944: Reports and Recommendations, p. 27.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

As for the teaching staff, it “consists of only the Principal, the Rev. B. Pape, B.A. During refresher courses, however, he has been assisted by some of the ministers of the [European] Baptist Churches within reach, who have attended to give certain lectures.”¹²⁷ No tuition fees are payable but “the students are expected to contribute towards their board. This is done, in part, at least, by their growing a certain amount of food on the plots under cultivation.”¹²⁸ Geographically, the place where the Institute is located is in “[close] proximity ... to a thickly populated Native area where the Society has many churches and preaching places [that] facilitate the provision of practical work for the students. At week-ends they are all given preaching assignments in the locality and are able to reach their places of appointment farther afield, the church being served paying the fares.”¹²⁹ To access the farthest of these fields, “A borrowed horse is sometimes used, as the Institute has no horse of its own.”¹³⁰

Of particular interest in this *Report* is the “question of whether the institute is in the right place or not.”¹³¹ It was also discussed “at length at a meeting of the Southern Field Committee when the Deputation was present, and the following resolution, supported by the Deputation, was passed: After consultation with Dr. Ennals and the Deputation appointed by the Executive to visit the Southern Fields, the Southern Field Committee strongly recommends the retention of the Ennals Institute at Berlin, and Dr. Ennals and the Deputation express their agreement therewith.”¹³² One of the key reasons to retain the Institute in the existing area was “the foregoing consideration regarding practical work.”¹³³ To this effect, “Mr. Pape brought forward a carefully prepared statement of the actual number of preaching centres within easy reach of the Institute, showing conclusively that no other situation suggested would be so advantageously placed in this respect as the present one.”¹³⁴ Other considerations were “the proximity of the Institute to Blaney Junction, making it easily accessible to Natives travelling by rail from Pondoland and the Transvaal, from the Glen Grey field, as also from the Kaffrarian area: and the fact that the climate of Berlin is one of the healthiest in that part of the country, an important consideration in

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 27-28.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 28.

connection with the permanent residence of a married [European] missionary there.”¹³⁵

But there still appeared to be some doubt, according to the Deputation, “as to whether the proximity of the Institute to the village of Berlin might conceivably lead to a ban being placed sometime in the future on the residence of Natives on the Institute property.”¹³⁶ This house, according to the deputation, “is situated about a mile from the centre of the [European] village, the lower end of the land about half-a-mile.”¹³⁷ Mr. Pape assured the Deputation that he did not consider that there was any risk in the matter. Under the Native Settlement (Urban Areas) Act any local authority has the power to set aside land for the occupation of Natives. But, he could not say that the local Village Management Board had specifically exercised this power. It was taken for granted that, the deputation reported, “[that] as on other farmlands equally close to the township, natives were residing and would continue to do so. But Mr. Pape undertook to investigate the matter and to have the position made clear.”¹³⁸ The deputation recommended pertaining this matter, “[that it] be satisfactorily settled before any further developments of the Institute are undertaken.”¹³⁹ This means in other words, that the deputation was caught between two pressing matters. On the one hand, the “problem” of the Institute’s closeness to a European village – a racial and political matter, while on the other, the “need” to renovate this property. The former, a racial and also a political matter, would win the day thus, resulting with the closure, in 1947, of this property even though other reasons would be given regarding the Institute’s closure.

The question of the continuance of the Institute for its present purpose was also raised and the deputation gave attention to this matter also. They came to the conclusion that

... having regard to the great need for more and better trained Native ministers for our scattered work the Institute should be developed to the fullest extent that our needs, commitments and financial resources make possible. ... They believe that with further encouragement and assistance Mr. Pape [the principal] should be able to extend the scope of the Institute so as to meet the growing demand not only for ministerial training but also for refresher courses, and also for the training of women. ... With regard to the other department of his work the Deputation suggests the appointment of the Rev. S. Mashologu as an assistant to Mr. Pape in supervising the work of the scattered districts. It would

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid

be necessary for Mr. Mashologu eventually to reside at Berlin or King Williams Town [native location], and for a replacement to be appointed to the pastorate of the East London Church. It is suggested that a student from the Institute might be stationed there on the completion of his course.¹⁴⁰

Given these factors, the deputation resolved:

... [that] the Rev. S. Mashologu should be appointed to assist Mr. Pape. This may mean Mr. Mashologu's relinquishment of the pastorate of the East London Church, in which case the Church should be consulted. In this event it is suggested that the proposal be placed before Mr. Mashologu and that if he is favourable the matter be placed before the East London congregation by someone deputed by the Southern Field Committee. Obviously, the question of Mr. Mashologu's residence would need careful consideration in view of other questions involved such as Mrs. Mashologu's employment and the education of the family.¹⁴¹

This consideration of the native worker's wife and family is the first ever such record of the SABMS according attention to the welfare of native workers' families, which it has always done for its European workers. Regarding training at the Institution:

The Deputation is struck with the need for and the possibilities of providing training for women as well as men. The course would cover Bible study, conduct of women's meetings and particularly Sunday school organisation and method. Instruction in hygiene and in simple home nursing would also be of great advantage to the women both for their own homes and for the work of sick visiting. *A beginning might be made by bringing wives of students there to take a separate course running alongside that of the ministerial course.* Later on it might be extended to include selected women from the Bantu B.W.A's. The European B.W.A's. might be interested in raising funds to make this possible. If this were done refresher courses might be run also for women unable to attend the longer course.¹⁴²

In order to realize this goal, "accommodation at the Institute will also need to be enlarged. An immediate requirement is a commodious, well-lit lecture room, and also further sleeping accommodation for men attending refresher courses. If the Institute is to offer courses for women

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 29.

also, this will call for increased living accommodation.”¹⁴³ To this end, the deputation recommended “that as soon as possible a suitable lecture room be provided for the Institute, and also accommodation for men attending refresher courses.”¹⁴⁴

Significantly, teaching at the Institute continued throughout these years without a library “for the use of students.”¹⁴⁵ This, according to the deputation, “should be an immediate concern of the Society.”¹⁴⁶ As an attempt to remedy the situation:

A small sum might be granted at once for the purchase of a few suitable books and an annual grant made to increase the number. European ministers might be appealed to give to the library suitable books which they can spare or for which they have no further use. In this connection the advice of the Principal as to the type of books required should be obtained. For some time to come all the accommodation the library books would require is a lock-up bookcase, which might stand in the lecture-room. It should be noted that books in the library ought not to be confined solely to theological or devotional literature. Books of general interest, especially works of reference, are bound to be extremely useful and desirable.¹⁴⁷

To quickly remedy this lack, the deputation proposed that “a grant be made for the beginning of a reference library for the use of Institute students, and for the provision of a suitable bookcase; also that a small annual grant be made for the purchase of additional books at the discretion of the Principal in consultation with the Field Committee.”¹⁴⁸ Further, “Having regard to the paucity of our Native ministers’ libraries it would be an excellent thing if every student successfully completing the ministerial course at the Institute were to be presented with a few selected books by the Society. Dr. Ennals has generously made a private beginning in this respect in the case of present successful students.”¹⁴⁹

In the case of the principal, Rev Pape, he “has resided for many years in the village of Berlin.”¹⁵⁰ He is also “in receipt of a monthly house allowance of £6. It would seem to be desirable that

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

eventually the Principal should reside on the Institute land in a house the property of the Society. The Southern Field Committee concurs in this view and recommends that when building costs permit a residence for Mr. Pape should be built on the Ennals Institute land in a suitable position.”¹⁵¹ Concluding this matter, the deputation recommended, “it [is] desirable that as soon as practicable a residence for the Principal be built in a suitable position on the land of the Ennals Institute. This matter to be deferred for two years.”¹⁵²

Throughout these years of its existence, both the Institute’s value and the cost of training increased. In 1942, the asset value of the Institute was £1,435.11s.10d.,¹⁵³ £1,462.3s.0d. in 1943,¹⁵⁴ £1,483.16s.0d. in 1944,¹⁵⁵ £1,505.13s.7d. in 1945,¹⁵⁶ and £1,520.8s.5d. in 1946.¹⁵⁷ While the Institute’s assets value increased, so did the cost of training, in particular that of refresher courses for native ministers. In 1943 training costs amounted to £109.10s.7d.,¹⁵⁸ £99.0s.0d. in 1944,¹⁵⁹ and £229.10s.0d. in 1945¹⁶⁰ - being the largest refresher Course attended. This Refresher Course, referred to as undertaken in 1945, due to being recorded under the 1945 financial year, was actually held from September 13th to October 3rd 1944 with “classes held daily and there were 78 instruction periods in all.”¹⁶¹ But, in 1946, the SABMS statement of revenue and expenditure showed no record of any training undertaken at the Institute. This was probably an early sign of the Institute’s approaching closure, given that in 1947 a decision was passed to close it.

The graduate students from the Institute were reportedly doing well, in their respective fields. For example, Rev Pape, Superintendent of Kaffraria, reported in his field report that “the Kaffrarian

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁵³ SABMS Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 45.

¹⁵⁴ SABMS Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 56.

¹⁵⁵ SABMS Balance Income and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 55.

¹⁵⁶ SABMS Special Purposes Fund as at 30th June 1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 55.

¹⁵⁷ SABMS Balance Sheet of Cape Town Investments Account [as at 30th June, 1946], in BU Handbook for 1946-1948, p. 47.

¹⁵⁸ SABMS Revenue and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1943, in BU Handbook for 1943- 1944., p. 56.

¹⁵⁹ SABMS Income and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945., p. 55.

¹⁶⁰ SABMS Income and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 56. The Millard Institute’s costs are also included hereunder.

¹⁶¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 24.

field is doing well and is divided into 6 circuits, each having its resident minister.”¹⁶² The circuits “cover 9 Divisional Council areas stretching from East London into the Eastern Karoo [and] the Berlin circuit is now [under the] charge of Milton Ntile, a graduate of the Ennals Institute.”¹⁶³ From the Transkei field, Rev H. Peinke, Superintendent of the field, reported: “a new worker, Rev. S. Nyamakazi from the Ennals Institute, has been appointed and promises well.”¹⁶⁴ From Pondoland and East Griqualand, the Superintendent, Rev J. C. E. Payn, “urged the need for more trained workers to take advantage of the great opportunities.”¹⁶⁵ But “an outstanding piece of work during the year under review has been the training of eleven students at Orlando Bible Institute [i.e., Millard Institute].”¹⁶⁶ According to Rev D. J. Eriksson, Superintendent of the Transvaal field, “it was a never-to-be-forgotten and inspiring sight to see eleven men of different ages, tribes and tongues lined up in front of the pulpit of the Orlando Church to receive from their honoured teacher their leaving Certificates.”¹⁶⁷ Rev Eriksson further mentioned: “Lest some, not understanding, should make an invidious comparison with other training work, it should be explained again that the supreme value of the service rendered by Rev. T. Chapman lies mainly in the fact that he saw the dire need of our faithful but largely illiterate Bantu workers in the Transvaal filled and gave himself to putting them through an invaluable course of intensive instruction by which their personal experience and their ministry has been enriched. In his work Mr. Chapman was ably seconded by Mr. Eriksson, to whose ability as an interpreter not a little of the success of the effort has been due. At the March Executive meeting it was decided that Mr. Eriksson be released from this extra work now the more urgent need has been met, and suggestions regarding the training of ministerial candidates in future will come before the assembly.”¹⁶⁸

In June 1947, at East London, a meeting was held between Dr Ennals and the East London members of the Southern Field Committee, from which an important decision concerning the future of the Ennals Institute was made. On a positive note, the *Annual Report for 1946-1947* introduced the decision by acknowledging that “valuable work has been done in the past both at

¹⁶² SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 17.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

the Ennals Institute, under the Rev. B. E. Pape, and at the Millard Institute, under the Rev. T. Chapman with the co-operation of the Rev. D. H. Eriksson.”¹⁶⁹ But “the Executive was faced with the fact that it was uneconomical in every way, not merely financially, for our Missionaries to be called upon to give a large part of their work to the training of the very few men our work can absorb each year, while the supervision of their fields was bound to suffer.”¹⁷⁰ The report added that “after careful consideration, and after hearing the views of the Rev. B. E. Pape”¹⁷¹ the following recommendation was made to the executive:

That, for a trial period, the duration of which shall be decided by the Executive with full right of review by the Assembly, accepted candidates for the Bantu Baptist ministry be sent to the Union Bible Institute, Sweetwaters, Natal, and that the Ennals Institute at present situated at Berlin and the Millard Institute at Orlando, while retaining their status as training centres, be used primarily for refresher courses for Ministers and Evangelists and special courses for women workers, as far as suitable arrangements can be made and the other duties of Superintendent Missionaries allow time for such work with the voluntary help of such local Ministers as are available; subject to the *proviso* that the whole matter comes up for review every three years until we ourselves are able to undertake the full training of our men.¹⁷²

Even though the resolution highlighted the need to train women workers through special courses, it concluded however, by reiterating that Baptist ministry was a male-only domain by “the full training of our men.”¹⁷³ It was also agreed, after further consultation, that “mainly because of the difficulty of getting satisfactory assurances as to our tenure of the Ennals Institute property for Native training purposes, the Ennals Institute be moved to East London.”¹⁷⁴ On the advice of Mr. S. Pape “it was decided to take advantage of the favourable market and to dispose of the Berlin property as soon as possible.”¹⁷⁵ At this time, the Institute’s asset value was £1,075.0s.9d.¹⁷⁶ significantly less than the previous (£1,520.8s.5d.) year’s value.¹⁷⁷ By 1948, a new site was had

¹⁶⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 56.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ SABMS Balance Sheet year ending 30th June 1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 76.

¹⁷⁷ SABMS Balance Sheet of Cape Town Investment Account year ending 30th June 1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1948, p. 47.

not yet been found because “when it was thought that a satisfactory sale was about to be concluded it was discovered that it was planned to take the new National Road diagonally through the property, and consequently the sale fell through.”¹⁷⁸ In the interim, “another sale of the parts not affected by the new road is being negotiated the completion of which depends upon satisfactory compensation being assured by the authorities for the loss of the affected part.”¹⁷⁹ Finally, the Ennals Institute property was sold for £1,350.0s.0d.¹⁸⁰ This closed the chapter of the Ennals Institute. In the same year, interestingly, an amount of £1,106.18s.3d. was spent on a Ministerial Training Fund for European Ministers and Missionaries,¹⁸¹ whose theological education was continued through the BU’s support.

7.2. The Millard Training Institute: Native training on the Rand

In 1933, “an important decision [was] reached with regard to the training of Native Ministers by which the Executive hope that work may be started at once on the Rand with the assistance of our BMS staff and the Ministers in Johannesburg.”¹⁸² According to the *Annual Report for 1933-1934*, Johannesburg “will probably provide most of the recruits for training, and the wide scope of practical training will give the Rand a great advantage over any other centre.”¹⁸³ At the same executive meeting, it was “proposed to create a new Trust Fund for this purpose.”¹⁸⁴ But it was only in November 1935 that the first group of students, that is, “19 Ministers and Probationer Ministers [met] for about 10 days’ lectures and addresses, and a great benefit was derived by the native workers.”¹⁸⁵ The following year the number increased to 20 under “the Ministers of the European Churches sharing with the Missionaries the work of giving instructions.”¹⁸⁶ By the beginning of 1938, a step forward been made. This, according to the *SABMS Annual Report of 1937-1938*, was that it was “good to note that money has been made available by Mr. Joyce from

¹⁷⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 54.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ SABMS Statement of Amounts held on call with Messrs. Baker King & Co., issued on 24 August 1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 99.

¹⁸¹ BU Sustentation and Trust Fund Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 94. The BU Ministerial Training Fund incorporated the Batts, Cross and Perks Memorial Funds.

¹⁸² SABMS Annual Report for 1933-1934, in BU Handbook of 1934-1935, p. 13.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1935-1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 24.

¹⁸⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1936-1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 33.

the Millard Bequest for the erection of a building, probably at the Orlando Township, near Johannesburg, as a centre for training work for our men in the Transvaal, O.F.S. and Natal.”¹⁸⁷

But towards the end of 1938, such a step was still only a desire “to commence the Bantu Institute and Minister’s manse at Orlando in the future.”¹⁸⁸ In the same Report, the Transvaal Superintendent, Rev D. H. Eriksson¹⁸⁹ also remarked: “The Bantu Ministers Refresher Course was held in November and proved a great success, perhaps the most striking sign being greater awakening for further studies. The lectures which the Rev W. H. Doke gave every day for a week were both instructive and a spiritual blessing to our men. Two of our ministers have since then taken up a Correspondence Bible Course in Zulu, one having completed the Course and obtained the Diploma of the Institute.”¹⁹⁰ Regardless of these events, the desire to establish a training institution in the Rand was finally realised. About this, the SABMS Committee reported: “The urgent need for the establishment of a Training centre for our workers in the Transvaal has long been felt and, thanks to a grant of £400, placed at the disposal of the Executive by the Rev J. W. Joyce, from the Millard Bequest, the Executive has been able to erect ‘The Millard Training Institute’ at the Orlando Township, Johannesburg. Plans are being made for regular training work to be undertaken at this centre. The usual Refresher Course was held during the year, and special thanks are due to the Rev W. H. Doke for the valuable series of lectures he gave to the Ministers and other workers, numbering 28, who were able to take advantage of this special week’s training.”¹⁹¹

The Millard Institute was finally opened in November 1940. The building “has accommodation for 20 men. In addition to two dormitories, there are a dining room, kitchen, pantry, bathroom, and [an] office.”¹⁹² During the same month “a refresher course of study for native workers was again

¹⁸⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1937-1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 33. The amount reflected in the SABMS Revenue and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June, 1938 was £25 (BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 54).

¹⁸⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1938-1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 37.

¹⁸⁹ Rev D. H. Eriksson was Superintendent of the Transvaal, N. Natal, O.F.S. and N. Cape. Under him were 169 preaching places, 4165 church members and 309 baptisms were reported by the end of 1938. (BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 37.).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1939-1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 14.

¹⁹² SABMS Annual Report for 1940-1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 21.

held, the Rev W. H. Doke once more giving the main series of lectures.”¹⁹³ Concerning both the Ennals Institute in the south and the Millard Training Institute in the north, the SABMS stated, “we cannot refrain from a further word of heartfelt satisfaction that our dreams of adequate training for our Native Ministers and Evangelists are so much nearer fulfilment.”¹⁹⁴ The SABMS Committee “hoped these training centres must exercise a marked influence on our work in the future.”¹⁹⁵ While celebrating the existence of these institutions, the SABMS Committee did not hesitate to mention the associated costs of running the Millard Institute.

The first of such records was presented to the 1941 BU Assembly. This was an amount of £25.¹⁹⁶ In subsequent years, the costs were: £25 (1942),¹⁹⁷ £34 (1943),¹⁹⁸ £99 (1944),¹⁹⁹ and £229.10.0 (1945).²⁰⁰ These started appearing in the SABMS budget when Rev Chapman visited the Institute, where he gave “most valuable service by sharing in refresher courses and conducting Bible studies for our native brethren.”²⁰¹ Rev Chapman, who had just retired, had during the 1941 Assembly offered “to visit the various mission centres at his own expense, for the purpose of holding conferences, conventions and meetings of for Bible study.”²⁰² This is the same Chapman who drafted and presented the education scheme for native ministers and their secular education for the 1913 BU Assembly.²⁰³ Twenty-five native male workers attended the refresher course he conducted in November 1941.

A month later, on December 6th, 1941, Rev Chapman chaired the opening ceremony of the

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ SABMS Revenue and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 46.

¹⁹⁷ SABMS Revenue and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 47.

¹⁹⁸ SABMS Revenue and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 57.

¹⁹⁹ SABMS Income and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 55. This training expenditure unlike those of the previous years, is not divided according to the respective institutions. It is rather, a lump sum.

²⁰⁰ SABMS Income and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 56. The total amount was only for the Millard Institute. It covered native ministers, boarders’ expenses and equipment.

²⁰¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 17.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ See Chapter 5.

Orlando Scheme, which consisted of the Millard Training Institute, Law Palmer Day School, a Manual Training School and a Manse. According to the *Annual Report for 1941-1942*, "the cost of the school has been covered by gifts and loans, the interest on which will be more than met by interest paid by the Education Department, on their estimated value of the buildings, in lieu of rent."²⁰⁴ In other words, all the buildings were built by the SABMS, including the Law Palmer Day School. The SABMS would recoup this money by renting this building to the Education Department. Furthermore, the executive recorded its hearty thanks "to Mr M. A. Cross and Mr. F. Jennings for loans free of interest."²⁰⁵ This education scheme, in particular the Day School, was the largest day school ever undertaken by the SABMS. The school "has a staff of five teachers and over 250 scholars."²⁰⁶ In addition, "since the opening a Woodwork Room has been added and a Woodwork Instructor appointed by the Education Department."²⁰⁷ And "the cost of school furniture and tools has been met by the [Education] Department."²⁰⁸ In addition, "the buildings and furniture [of the Orlando Scheme] have been insured."²⁰⁹

In the *SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943*, the SABMS Committee reported that "with advances in Native education generally, the adequate educational equipment of those engaged in preaching and pastoral work becomes more and more important."²¹⁰ As a result and "with whole-hearted agreement and co-operation of the Superintendent Missionary [Rev D. H. Eriksson] for the Transvaal field, the work of native training has been continued at the Millard Institute under the direction of the Rev. Thos. Chapman, A.T.S."²¹¹ It is added concerning about the native ministers' response that: "Almost without exception our Bantu Ministers in the Transvaal and adjoining fields, while men of spiritual experience, godly character and evangelistic zeal, have had few [European-like] educational opportunities, they themselves were deeply conscious of their need and rejoiced when it was announced that Mr. Chapman was willing to conduct Bible training classes."²¹²

²⁰⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 23.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 26.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 27.

²¹² Ibid.

Since tuition at the Millard Institute came under the direction of Rev Chapman, there are some interesting aspects of native training in the Rand, as highlighted in the following SABMS Committee report.

The work begun in August, 1942, with six students, all of whom had been in active service for many years; since then two or three other students have been added and Mr Chapman has kindly undertaken, health and conditions permitting, to carry through a two year course, at the end of which our Bantu brethren will be much better equipped for their work than ever before. Classes in ordinary secular subjects are conducted by some of the teachers attached to the Orlando day school, and Bible training classes are conducted by Rev. Thos. Chapman himself; the Rev. D. H. Eriksson and Mr. T. Tusini have given valuable assistance with the work of interpreting. Mr. Tusini is a student at Sweetwaters who was granted leave to assist Mr. Chapman in Mr. Eriksson's enforced absence. The Rev. W. Edmunds has also given greatly appreciated help by conducting classes to stress the importance and value of Sunday school work, and to give practical instruction as to methods. The Executive has placed on record its deep appreciation of the valuable voluntary service rendered by the Rev. Thos. Chapman in connection with the Millard Institute. But if it was not for his self-sacrificing devotion our Bantu Ministers in the Northern field could not have received the educational help his classes have given.²¹³

By the close of the 1943 SABMS financial year, an overall amount of £174.10s.7d. had been spent on native training. The amount was divided as follows: £34 (Millard Institute), £31 (Sweetwaters Institute) and £109.10s.7d. (Ennals Institute).²¹⁴ Regarding the Sweetwaters Institute, one should note that it was to be considered the better alternative to the Ennals Institute when the later was to be closed three years later (1944).²¹⁵ Prior to the 1943 record of funds spent on the Sweetwaters Institute, the only mention of BU's expenditure on the Sweetwaters Institute was in 1942, during which an amount of £12 was spent.²¹⁶

Concerning the Millard Institute, in the following year, 1943, "eight brethren ... were privileged to take the two year course ... five were ministers and three were preachers."²¹⁷ And, "On the

²¹³ Ibid., pp. 27-28.

²¹⁴ SABMS Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the twelve months ended 30th June 1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 58.

²¹⁵ See the resolution: "Training of Candidates for the Bantu Ministry", during the Missionary Session of the 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 56.

²¹⁶ SABMS Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the twelve months ended 30th June 1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 47.

²¹⁷ SABMS's Field Committees Report for 1943-1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 30.

whole, all did well.”²¹⁸ Further, “On the last day of the final term the leader of the Bible School, the Rev. T. Chapman, the Superintendent Missionary and the eight students all gathered round the Lord’s Table to remember His redeeming love. It was an experience none of those present will never forget.”²¹⁹ The training presented at the Institute during the same year included: “local preachers’ weekly Bible classes, days of prayer, new Sunday Schools, new students for the ministry coming forward, [and] increased giving.”²²⁰ Regarding the visiting teacher, Rev Chapman, the Superintendent of the field, Rev Eriksson, reported: “The Rev Chapman is a great and valuable gift to the Missionary Society, not only because of his adaptability as a sound Bible teacher, with rare gift of adaptability to Native minds, but because of his deep spiritual life which has proved to be of such tremendous influence on the life and conduct of the students.”²²¹ Therefore, according to Rev Eriksson, “In view of the urgent need for the further training of men in the Transvaal field, where most of the Society’s workers have not gone beyond Standard III or IV, the Executive have sanctioned a further two year course to begin in August, 1944.”²²² Furthermore, the “Executive gratefully acknowledge a gift of £20 from Mr D. J. Martin to be used for much needed additional furniture for the Institute.”²²³ Preceding the executive’s approval for a further two-year course was a mission fields’ report compiled by the SABMS deputation. As discussed previously, a visitation of the SABMS’s fields by the deputation was conducted in February and March of the same year (1944).²²⁴

For a start, as with the Ennals Institute, in describing what the Millard Institute consisted of the deputation reported that:

... [the] building itself consists of three large rooms used respectively as lecture room, dining room, and dormitory. An apartment with washbowls and shower, a back veranda, a large kitchen with lock-up pantry, and a small rest room and [an] office for the superintendent missionary occupy the back quarters of the building. The dormitory in which six men could be comfortably accommodated now contains ten beds, which fill the room to its capacity. The dining room is furnished with table and chairs, and the lecture room with two long tables for the students, a lecturer’s table, and two wall

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 31.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ See Chapter 8 for a detailed background and discussion on the Missionary Survey of 1944.

blackboards. A reliable woman (resident in another part of the township) is employed as cook-housekeeper. (In addition to her duties at the Institute she also cooks and serves meals for the school-boy boarders). [But the Institute, which is part of a] group of S.A.B.M.S. buildings of which the Institute building is one, comprises also a church, seating about two hundred people (one of the few Native churches with an inside baptistery and the only one with an "open" one), a five-roomed school, a carpentry shop and small dormitory in one building, and a manse for the Native Minister. These occupy a portion of a site of about an acre and a half leaving ample space for the precinct of the school and institute, and some room for the expansion of the existing buildings. The whole block is not unworthy of the Denomination or of its position in the township.²²⁵

As for the curriculum, it is such that it,

... is planned and the lectures are given in English by Mr Chapman, Mr. Eriksson interpreting into Zulu. The subjects taught include Biblical History, Introduction and some detailed study of individual books of the O.T. and N.T., Christian Doctrine, and simple Church History. Homiletics (with two sermon periods a week), and instruction in the constitution and oversight of a church, and the conduct of public worship have also an important place in the scheme of work. The Rev. W. Edmunds has also given lectures in Sunday school methods and organisation. Typed copies of the lectures are supplied and are carefully preserved, but the students also make their own notes from the blackboard. A periodical test indicates how much of the instruction is being absorbed, and these tests have shown an encouraging result. The men are all middle aged, and most of them have had little or no formal schooling. Morning and evening classes in ordinary school subjects have been of great benefit and are attended by all. The Bible school lectures occupy each morning, and the afternoons are given to note making and discussion. Each weekend the men whose spheres of labour are within reach, return to their churches for their Sunday duties. Others are given local assignments. It need scarcely be said that great care is given to the cultivation of the spiritual atmosphere. Apart from set times for corporate worship and prayer the whole proceedings are carried out in a markedly devotional spirit. [Further, concerning the lectures], The Deputation wishes also to record the fact, gratefully admitted by Mr Chapman, that but for Mr. Eriksson's skill and care in interpreting the lectures and his ability to explain patiently in the vernacular the difficult ideas and expressions involved in the subjects taught, the students could have made small progress.²²⁶

In addition to the SABMS Executive's sanctioning of a further two year course to begin in August 1944, taught by Rev Chapman, the deputation remarked,

²²⁵ Reports and Survey of Deputations to SABMS Fields in the Union of S.A., p. 30.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

... the future programme of the Institute is under active consideration, and to this matter the Deputation devoted considerable time and thought, particularly as any scheme for the further training of ministerial students, as distinct from periodic refresher courses, would seem to encroach on the sphere of the Ennals Institute. This could not be alleged of the course at the Millard Institute now concluding, as (a) the men were all (with one exception) in the active ministry, (b) their educational standard being below that of standard six would be insufficient to allow the Ennals Institute to admit them, and (c) their knowledge of English would not enable them to follow lectures delivered in that language.²²⁷

Thus, "It is the desire of Mr. Eriksson and Mr. Thomas Chapman that a new two years' course should be started this year for which there are already seven prospective candidates."²²⁸ Pertaining to these candidates, it was pointed out that:

Two of these are un-ordained men now in full-time work and the others have reached a fair educational standard, but below Std. VI. To the criticism that in accepting such men for ordination an undesirably low educational standard for the ministry is being perpetuated, the following points are urged, (1) The very urgent need for an immediate supply of ministers for at least 8 vacant charges; (2) The need that will arise in a few years time for men to replace elderly ministers, of whom there are several in the Transvaal field, who may in the natural course of things vacate their charges during the next few years; (3) The fact that at present there are no men of higher educational qualifications offering themselves for the work of the ministry. Number (3) is qualified by the fact that young Tusini has been sent to the Sweetwaters Institute for ministerial training and that one of the prospective students for the course at Orlando is a Std. VI man.²²⁹

Regarding the lectures given at the Institute, the report indicated that "Mr. Eriksson feels that he must be relieved of the work of interpretation which has been occupying his mornings on four days of every week during which lectures are being given, on the grounds that he cannot continue to do this and also effectively to superintend the very wide area in his charge,"²³⁰ even though, "There is no alternative,"²³¹ according to the deputation, "but to use a Native interpreter, and not even the best interpreter we are in a position to secure, would be able to do what Mr. Eriksson

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 34.

²³¹ Ibid.

has done.”²³² Unhappily and avoidably, “The Deputation thinks, however, that the attempt must be made to work through the best interpreter available, as the work of the superintendence cannot be done by anyone else, and is, in such a field, of paramount importance. Mr. Eriksson has, however, indicated his willingness to step in occasionally and help, and this offer should be gratefully accepted.”²³³

Concerning the “ultimate relationships between the Ennals Institute and the Millard Institute,”²³⁴ it was held that “the Deputation is of the opinion that the nature of our work, the size and limited resources of our European base, and the limited capacity of the Bantu Churches to absorb a regular supply of newly trained ministers, all indicate that the Society cannot afford to have more than one institute offering a full ministerial course. Meanwhile it is obviously necessary that the two Institutes should continue together. The question of the centralising of the training of ministers must be referred to the Executive for decision in two year’s time when the course at the Millard Institute concludes.”²³⁵ In addition, “[Rev] A. J. Cross thinks the one Institute should be the Ennals Institute at Berlin. One important supporting argument is that it is generally considered unsuitable to bring Native students from the country to the town for this purpose, but the reverse is always advocated. ... The Millard Institute will always be required for refresher courses and inspirational conferences.”²³⁶ Such an argument is in no way different from the one advanced by the political authorities of the day that the natives should only be in the reserve and should only enter town for good reason.²³⁷ In attending these refresher courses, “It is to be noted that by using the schoolboys’ dormitory when the school is closed twenty men can be accommodated at one time.”²³⁸

Concluding their report on the Millard Institute, the deputation made the following three recommendations. Firstly, that it is “the decision of the Northern Field Committee in welcoming the consent of the Rev. Thomas Chapman to conduct an additional course at the Millard Institute for students for the Ministry, commencing in 1944 and proceeding for two years, without

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ See Walker, E. A. *Op. Cit.*, p. 630.

²³⁸ Reports and Survey of Deputations to SABMS Fields in the Union of S.A., p. 34.

committing the Society to the establishment of a permanent ministerial training college at Orlando.”²³⁹ Secondly, that the deputation “supports Mr. Eriksson in his desire to be relieved of the regular work of interpreting lectures at the Institute in order to be able to devote himself to more effectual supervision of the Transvaal Field. If, however, Mr. Eriksson feels able from time to time to give assistance at the lectures he should be free to do so provided his other work is not unduly interfered with.”²⁴⁰ Lastly, the “recommendations regarding the establishment of a reference library at the Ennals Institute apply equally to the Millard Institute, and the Deputation recommends accordingly.”²⁴¹

The issue of Eriksson’s interpretation of lectures into Zulu raises critical issues concerning the power the European-held over the natives’ theological education. Critical, because any native was not regarded as a good interpreter while a European is. This argument does not hold because, the language from which the native had to interpret the lectures into the “Bantu” language was not his own language; similarly the same “Bantu” language which Rev Eriksson used in interpreting the lectures from English was not his own language. Further, embedded in this argument was the Europeans’ “superior” attitude that they had mastered the “Bantu” language. This is the reason why the deputation, which consisted of fellow Europeans, without any hesitation employed Rev Eriksson to give assistance during the lectures from time to time.²⁴²

Following the deputation’s report, in 1945 Rev Chapman was reported to be continuing “his valuable service as leader of the Bible Training work at the Millard Institute.”²⁴³ Further, the Institute experienced a growth in student numbers: which in the first term of 1944, “there were 10 students, and in the second term 11, as the Rev J. Lepele expressed his desire to attend.”²⁴⁴ The Refresher Course was continued and “in November 1944, [was] attended by 31 Bantu Ministers and other workers, the largest number to attend any such course to date.”²⁴⁵ Commenting on the value of these refresher courses, Rev Eriksson mentioned: “It is impossible to exaggerate the value of these refresher courses to men doing the work of pastors and evangelists with the most

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 35.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Acknowledgement is however made, that the minister (European), was more acquainted than the interpreter with the subject matter of the course.

²⁴³ SABMS’s Field Committees Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 28.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

meagre educational equipment, but eager to be helped.”²⁴⁶ Further, “during the refresher courses those attending held evangelistic services in four centres along the Reef.”²⁴⁷ While the previous year, 1944, the Institute had received a donation of £20 for furniture, this year, 1945, “a friend ... presented the Institute with a typewriter and a duplicating machine, which Mr Tusini is able to operate efficiently.”²⁴⁸ The same Rev Themba Tusini had just “been appointed to the Orlando pastorate partly with a view to assisting Mr Chapman and Mr Eriksson; [which] has proved a most helpful arrangement.”²⁴⁹ The total expenditure spent on the Institute during the year under discussion was £229.10s.0d.²⁵⁰ This was the highest figure spent on the Institute since its inception.

By 1946, an “outstanding piece of work during the year under review had been the training of eleven students at Orlando Bible Institute.”²⁵¹ According to Rev Chapman, as quoted earlier, “it was a never to be forgotten and inspiring sight to see eleven men of different ages, tribes and tongues lined up in front of the pulpit of the Orlando Church to receive from their honoured teacher their certificates. Prayers were offered on their behalf and many friends, European and Bantu, wished them God’s blessing and success in their work for the Master.”²⁵² Reflecting on this occasion, Rev Chapman, as earlier discussed, added: “Let some, not understanding, should make invidious comparisons with other training work, it should be explained again that the supreme value of the service rendered by Rev T. Chapman lies mainly in the fact that he saw the dire need of our faithful and largely illiterate Bantu workers in the Transvaal field and gave himself to putting them through an invaluable course of intensive instruction by which their personal experience and their ministry has been enriched. In his work, Mr Chapman was ably seconded by Mr Eriksson, to whose ability as an interpreter not a little of the success of the effort has been due.”²⁵³

As mentioned earlier, the following year (1945), when the deputation’s findings were presented to

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ SABMS Income and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 56.

²⁵¹ SABMS Field Committees’ Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, pp. 20-21.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

the Assembly, the Assembly resolved that: “accepted candidates for the Bantu Baptist ministry be sent to the Union Bible Institute, Sweetwaters, Natal, and that the Ennals Institute at present situated at Berlin and the Millard Institute in Orlando, while retaining their status, as training centres, be used primarily for refresher courses for Ministers and Evangelists and special courses for women workers, as far as suitable arrangements can be made and the other duties of Superintendent Missionaries allow time for such work with the voluntary help of such local Ministers as are available; subject to the proviso that the whole matter comes up for review every three years until we ourselves are able to undertake the full training of our men.”²⁵⁴ And as was intended, for the next two years the Institute’s focus was on refresher courses. For a start, in 1947, “A month’s refresher course for 12 Bantu Ministers was held at Orlando during April with the co-operation of European ministers from the Reef and Pretoria. The course proved a great help and blessing to the Bantu brethren, and as only 12 men can be accommodated at Orlando at a time, it is hoped to arrange other such courses periodically.”²⁵⁵

Finally, in 1948, Rev Eriksson, Superintendent of the Northern Field, reported on the joint Northern Council Annual Meeting, and described the refresher Course as follows: “This covered a period of ten days from the end of October last year. The Bantu Ministers, Evangelists and Lay Preachers who attended the course of lectures were much helped in their work for the Lord. The Conferences which were held in the afternoons were most useful in helping our men better to understand how to work in the building up of Bantu Baptist Churches. This is so important as many of the country churches only receive a few visits during the year.”²⁵⁶ In introducing this *Report*, Mr Eriksson recorded: “Through indisposition [he] was unable to do all that he would have liked to do, but thanks to God for His wonderful help and express gratitude for all the prayers.”²⁵⁷ One such example is, “One morning one of the native workers, having travelled 25 miles, arrived early at the home of Mr Eriksson. When asked for the reason for his coming so early, he replied: ‘My purpose for coming is to pray for you, my Superintendent!’”²⁵⁸ Rev

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ See the resolution: “Training of Candidates for the Bantu Ministry”, during the Missionary Session of the 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 56. See also Volume Three (Appendices), for the same document.

²⁵⁵ SABMS Report for 1947-1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 54.

²⁵⁶ SABMS Report for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 68.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

Eriksson exclaimed, "How lovely!"²⁵⁹ Rev Eriksson was impressed by this native who travelled 25 miles in order to come and pray for him. What is needless to ask, is how this native travelled these miles to meet his Superintendent. But what is critical to note, is the sacrificial and submissiveness of this native to European authority.

7.3. Ministering to "backward races"

Many funds in the BU were formed and consolidated within the periods 1892-1927, but they were primarily for the benefit of European ministers and missionaries, and only occasionally assisted their black colleagues. In 1930, significantly, the BU reminded the European churches: "Our responsibility is not ended with finance but begins and ends in the fellowship with them [natives] at the throne of grace."²⁶⁰ As will be recalled, this is the same year that the BU established the Ennals Institute. But why would the BU make such a comment during the assembly? Because, according to the BU, "The strain of ministering continually to a more backward race, who can provide little spiritual uplift by way of Christian fellowship, is not always appreciated by those of us working in European churches."²⁶¹ To conscientise the European Baptists about the work the European missionaries were undertaking among these "backward" races, the BU's Assembly was reorganised in such a way that, in every assembly, there should be a day session devoted to SABMS issues which consisted of reports by missionaries on their work among the natives. This was unlike the previous assemblies during which the SABMS issues were never given a whole day session in the BU agenda and were further discussed in a separate meeting outside the agenda of the BU. Native issues within the usual BU Assembly agenda were discussed under the slot on Public Questions. Other resolutions in this slot concerned matters like: Liquor Traffic, Gambling, Dancing and the Native Question among others.

By this period, 1928²⁶² onwards, the idea that the towns and their amenities were the preserve of the European minority had been emphasised by the Stallard Commission, as early as 1922, which recommended that because the "commingling" of whites and blacks was undesirable, Africans

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ SABMS Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 16.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² In 1928, throughout the BU assemblies, resolutions on the Liquor Traffic were more extensive than any other resolution on public questions.

must be allowed to enter “the white man’s town” only when they were needed to work for the said white folk, and then had to depart to their own place till they were wanted again the next day. The Natives’ Urban Areas Amendment Act of 1930 further curtailed the right of the Bantu to move into towns and live there freely. In addition, the Native Service Contract Act of 1932, “transformed [the natives] into labour tenants bound to work upon their lords’ lands for anything from the customary 90 days up to 180 days in each year on the days of their lords’ choice.”²⁶³

During the 1930 BU Assembly, regarding the Native Question, the BU resolved that it “hereby expresses its gratification at recent indications that questions affecting the welfare of the Native peoples of South Africa are likely to be the subjects of round-table conferences between representatives of those vitally concerned, and earnestly prays that the Divine blessing may rest upon the deliberations of all men of goodwill.”²⁶⁴ The resolution went on to state: “this [Baptist] Union makes no pronouncement of its views on specific points at the moment, but desires to affirm its conviction that the only basis upon which an equitable and permanently satisfactory settlement of the Native Question can be reached, is the full recognition of the universal Creatorship of God and the consequent brotherhood of man, involving the moral responsibility of more favoured races for the uplift of those in more backward stages of development.”²⁶⁵ Such a pronouncement was a typical “playing safe” by the BU. That is, it did not want to look guilty of not taking up matters concerning the black people and at the same time did not want to be seen to be doing so.

De Gruchy described this “playing safe” response by the English churches as “ambiguous and qualified, indicative of their endeavour to serve the interests of white congregations while at the same time trying to adopt a more liberal stance to the Native Question.”²⁶⁶ De Gruchy continued:

With some exceptions, the English-speaking church leadership had little grasp of the plight of the black rural communities and the black workers caught in the rapid urbanization and industrialization of the early decades of the century, especially during the First World War. White members of the

²⁶³ Walker, E. A. (1968). *A History of South Africa*. London: Longmans, pp. 630-631.

²⁶⁴ SABMS Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 27.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ De Gruchy, J. W. “Grappling with a Colonial Heritage: The English-speaking Churches under Imperialism and Apartheid,” in Elphick, R and Davenport, R. (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 157.

churches, part of the mercantile class, generally identified more with the bourgeois society than with labour. The funding of church programmes and the erection of church buildings and private church schools were dependent upon their capital. ... The English speaking churches were in fact caught between Afrikaner and African nationalism. They continued to seek good relations with the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK), but the NGK's alignment with the interests of Afrikaner nationalism and its advocacy of racial segregation, increasingly during the 1920s and 1930s, made such an entente increasingly difficult.²⁶⁷

In the next year, 1929, following on their contrast between the "backward races" and the "more favoured races," the SABMS pronounced, on a contest between blacks and whites over land in the Eastern Cape, that "[there] began frequent conflicts with the Bantu people for possession of the land, involving ebb and flow of the opposing forces of civilization and barbarism before peace was at last secured."²⁶⁸ In other words, the blacks' resistance was seen as barbarism while the whites' encroachment was perceived as civilization. The implications of this for the missionary purposes of the SABMS were that: "In the missionary work we are also watching the continual impact of what is felt to be the White Man's Religion [Christianity] in the Native mind."²⁶⁹ With this kind of mentality, it is no wonder that the SABMS understood the activities of Europeans as innocent and thus concluded, "Our missionaries like Moses need to have their hands upheld by the supporting churches, whom they represent."²⁷⁰ Statistically, "We close the years with a membership of 4,144 in the Bantu Church directly under our control, 231 less than last year. This loss is accounted for by 48 being scattered by the closing of the Leeuwpoort Mine, 72 in Kaffraria, through revision of the roll, and by the defection of 213 in Ndola and the mines through an Ethiopian movement led by one of our chief preachers to the African Methodist Church."²⁷¹ The SABMS's use of the phrase "directly under our control" in speaking about the membership of the Bantu Church, ought not to be taken lightly as it is characteristic of the "master language" in the discourse of dispossession, during this history of missions amongst the natives, in South Africa.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ SABMS Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 10.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² See Chapter 2 and Chapter 4.

In the same minutes of 1931,²⁷³ wherein the SABMS contrasted “barbarism” to “civilization,” the SABMS presented a reflection on the indirect benefits of racial domination. That is:

The prevalence of racialism ought not to surprise us greatly, when we recall the history of our country. In the first decade of our Society's existence the land was convulsed by the Anglo-Boer war, upsetting our work a good deal. In the second decade European thought was concentrated on political readjustments leading to the union. In the third decade, the Great War impressed the idea of antagonism afresh, and in the fourth decade there has been such an intensification of racialism amongst the Europeans that we cannot wonder that the Bantu should follow suit. This may eventually work out for the furtherance of the gospel, but we feel the real danger that in shaking off White control before they have fully benefited by its discipline, the character of the Native Church may be gravely imperilled.²⁷⁴

In concluding this report, the SABMS in a gloriously patronizing tone added: “This brief report gives but the barest outline of the activities of our Society, and needs to be filled in by fuller knowledge of the fields and coloured by the glowing consecration of the workers, White and Black alike. To share with them in the glorious enterprise of establishing the Kingdom of God on this earth of ours amongst the backward races, where Our Lord is least known, will provide the finest spiritual tonic possible, and help to revitalise our church life.”²⁷⁵

The BU and SABMS's racist and paternalising attitude towards native ministers and evangelists, including their native culture, continually articulated the view of a European missionary as being a model Christian. That is,

In each of our largest fields there is only one European Missionary Superintendent ... These Superintendents direct the work in the various areas. The European Missionary is Leader to the native workers by his life and example. The Missionary shows them how to live and work, and great responsibilities are upon each of our Missionaries. Under the direction of the Superintendents we have a very large number of native workers, ordained ministers, probationer ministers, evangelists and teachers; elders in the native church, and a host of earnest Christian men and women all of whom render splendid service to the cause of the Master ... There are the Bantu Women's Associations, and

²⁷³ See SABMS Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, pp. 10-11.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

Two years later, in 1941, the necessity of European guidance was re-emphasised because there were "errors and extravagancies which are easily picked up from Churches not under European guidance."²⁷⁷ Such errors are often in this form: "a large proportion of those who profess are gradually lured away. A few slip back into heathenism, but many are enticed away by the promise of an easy religion and become associated with one or other of the innumerable sects."²⁷⁸ In the same year, the Superintendent reported, for example, that our losses this year have been heavy ... leaving [only] a total membership of 615."²⁷⁹ In the Transvaal the Superintendent, jubilant that the native churches and their leaders had not defected, wrote, "It is gratifying also to know that all our Churches, Ministers and Workers are most loyal to the S.A.B.M.S. and happy to be under European leadership. We can now visualise a strong, self-supporting and spiritual Bantu Baptist Church within the Baptist Denomination in South Africa in the comparatively near future."²⁸⁰

Between the years 1939 and 1941, the SABMS attitude to other forms of Christianity became more hostile. Under the bold heading: "Adversaries - Satan Hindered," the SABMS Committee reported:

Realising that many small sects, unconnected with any large denominational Missionary Society were springing up, causing division amongst native people, the Government issued instructions prohibiting the use of residential allotments in the Native Locations and Reserves for Church and School purposes. The result of this action was that the evangelistic work carried on by our Missionaries and their native helpers was brought to a standstill, and one of our Missionaries writes: - "At our quarterly Meeting last week the preachers seemed lost, and they discussed ways and means of getting among the reds (non-Christians) and how to get them to the Church services."²⁸¹

Exacerbating the situation was the fact that: "It appears, however, that the Headmen are still reluctant to allow Services to be recommended in the kraals, and the Executive would ask the

²⁷⁶ Minutes of 1939 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 24.

²⁷⁷ Minutes of 1941 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 18.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 20-21

²⁸¹ Minutes of 1940 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 16.

Churches to make this a matter of very special prayer.”²⁸² This was because “Powers of evil still have a firm hold on the life of the non-Christian community, and the extent to which superstition and faith in witchdoctors are still prevalent amongst the natives in all parts of the country is disclosed from time to time when criminal charges are brought against witchdoctors and others. It is, perhaps, not to be wondered at that the native, steeped in superstition from infancy, should find it difficult to entirely forget the things he has been taught.”²⁸³

In 1942 when the SABMS celebrated its second Jubilee since its formation in 1892, its demeaning attitude towards the natives had not improved. Rather, “We specially rejoice that in one respect at least our Jubilee year, now past, has been the spiritual counterpart of the God-ordained original. It has been a year in which many slaves of darkness, ignorance and superstition have been freed by the Great Deliverer through the faithful ministries of our missionaries.”²⁸⁴ The following year, 1943, the Pondoland Superintendent, Rev Brailsford, and the missionary in the same field, Mrs Brailsford, in concluding their report stated: “Such routine work as weekly classes for probationers, Bible classes for boys and girls, classes for preachers and teachers, medical work, etc., has gone on unceasingly and, though the haphazard ways of Native workers are sometimes disappointing, it is cheering to have such a large number of helpers who find joy in the Lord’s service.”²⁸⁵ Four years later, in 1947, the Transkei Superintendent reported: “Our Missionary in the Transkei reports another difficult period of service; his own expression is that it has been a strange year. Agitators appear to be finding a fruitful field in this area and the spirit of unrest has gripped even Christian workers. Mr Peinke feels that European leadership is not wholeheartedly welcomed, though few, if any, of the Native workers would be able to carry on successfully without European guidance and leadership.”²⁸⁶ These few had hopefully, according to Rev Peinke’s view, attained some sparks of civilization, which according to the Comaroffs, were felt to be only attainable through gradualism.²⁸⁷

Seeing that 1947 was the year prior to the Nationalist victory and the first legislation to implement apartheid strictly, the BU’s attitude on the “Native Question” was as conservative as ever, but

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁸⁴ Minutes of 1942 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1942-1943*, p. 16.

²⁸⁵ Minutes of 1943 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1943-1944*, p. 32.

²⁸⁶ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1947-1948*, p. 43.

²⁸⁷ See Chapter 4.

again expressed in a subtle manner. It issued the following resolution concerning the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry:

This Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa wished to place on record its sincere appreciation of the efforts the Government of the Union of South Africa is making towards seeking a just solution of the problems relating to the non-European peoples of South Africa. At the same time the Assembly earnestly requests the responsible authorities (1) to protect the child races of this land from the ravages of the strong drink and (2) to encourage these needy peoples to improve their community, by providing more ample means of training them in the useful arts and crafts by which they will be able to build up their own civilization in the vast and ample areas that have been allotted to them.²⁸⁸

Clearly from the resolution, the primary concern of the BU regarding natives and needing urgent government attention was the problem of “strong drink” (liquor). Following this was a concern that the government should encourage the natives, the needy people, to improve “their” community. This they ought to do within their own geographical confines (which were on 13% of the land while 87% was taken by the Europeans) which according to the BU were “ample.” Following on the BU’s primary concern with liquor, prior to this resolution, the Superintendent of Pondoland and East Griqualand, Rev Payn, had reported:

It is difficult to carry on Kraal meetings during the reaping season, as the heathen people spend most of their time away from the home, drinking beer when they are not at work. Sometimes we are able to find where they have arranged to meet; then a grand opportunity is afforded for the preaching of the Gospel. These poor, wretched, enslaved heathen listen most attentively to the Good News. It is amusing to watch the expressions that flit across the faces of late comers. Some show amazement, others are bewildered to find a white man and a gathering of Native Christians in such a place. After delivering the message we leave with a silent prayer that the seed sown will bring forth fruit.²⁸⁹

7.4. Native Christian sects - a continuing problem (1928-1948)

After 1927, the first report of the activities a sect affecting the finances of Baptist work was made in 1928. This was in a report from the Transkei field: “Our Superintendent in this work, Rev Hugo Peinke, reports a year of great difficulty owing to the activities of that Anti-European

²⁸⁸ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 94.

organization known as the Wellington Movement.”²⁹⁰ This movement “has been very active all throughout this district.”²⁹¹ As a result, “In the field under his care he has lost during the past year about 140 members to this movement ... [and it] is now spreading to other fields and apparently will soon be affecting his work in Glen Grey and other parts.”²⁹² In particular, “Finance in the churches under his care has been adversely affected by it as many members watching to see the form it will take are not giving as they did and some preaching places have had to be given up altogether.”²⁹³ In addition, “The native preachers also report that they [found] a strong spirit of opposition and suspicion facing them as they went about their work.”²⁹⁴

The same year, 1928, it was also reported that in Eastern Pondoland, “During the year 92 converts have been added to the list of Probationers which now stands at 250. It is among this class that the Ethiopians have put out their strongest efforts.”²⁹⁵ Worst of all, according to the *Annual Report for 1927-1928*, Alfred County, in Natal, in its infancy stage of mission, was also hit. The *Report* states, “Here is a little group of three churches, two of them very small, with a total membership of 63 members. Two small churches in this areas have gone over to the Ethiopians.”²⁹⁶ The Transkei field in the following year was reported to have “also suffered from a movement of an Ethiopian character, but things are beginning to improve.”²⁹⁷ Besides the Ethiopian sect being blamed, the Kaffrarian field report also adds that another cause is the lack of European superintendence. According to the *Report*, “The native membership is reported at 4,076 a decrease of 154, and we hope that now we have reached the low tide mark, and may be able to rejoice in the rising tide level of membership. It was inevitable that there should be a loss by revision in Kaffraria, after the long interval without a [European] superintendent.”²⁹⁸

In 1930, Ethiopianism, a term which the Europeans used to refer to all native-led churches without European guidance,²⁹⁹ was equated³⁰⁰ with “anti-white propaganda.”³⁰¹ The Baptist

²⁸⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 45.

²⁹⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1927-1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 9.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1927-1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 10.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁹⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1928-1929, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 10.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ See Chapter 5.

native converts who joined these native-led churches were perceived by the European missionaries as still Christian. This is surprising given the harsh words the Europeans used to describe these churches.³⁰² The SABMS wrote: "We reverently recognize also the hand of God at work in revitalizing human lives, and transforming by illuminating the sons of 'Darkest Africa' into real 'children of light' ... Our church roll does not however always show the increase on this account, that might be expected, owing to the number of those especially in Eastern Pondoland and East Griqualand who have been enticed aside by Ethiopian or anti-White propaganda and led to join purely Native churches. Our only consolation is that our Missionary Mr Brailsford says that although the great majority of these people are still known, he is not aware of any who have lapsed into heathenism."³⁰³ The same year: "In East Pondoland, East Griqualand and Alfred County, a good work has been in progress with marked spiritual result. Though 92 have been added to the membership, this has however been counterbalanced by the loss of 95, many of whom have deserted to the Ethiopianism."³⁰⁴ Financially, the Transkei field "has had a bad financial year with contributions down to £100 ... [and] the Wellington movement is still a great hindrance to our work. [As a result] great care has been exercised with regard to admitting to baptism only those whose lives give evidence of a spiritual change."³⁰⁵ This criticism of these

³⁰⁰ For an interesting reflection on the people who study the African Initiated Churches (AICs), see Maluleke, T. S. "Interpreting the interpreters of AICs and other grassroots Christian communities in South Africa," in Cuthbertson, G., Pretorius, H., & Robert, D. (2003). *Frontiers of African Christianity: Essays in Honour of Inus Daneel*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, pp. 173-209. Briefly, according to Maluleke, there are two groups of scholars studying the AICs: white scholars, and Blacks including AIC members who research the AICs. The former, Maluleke writes: "It would not be inaccurate to say that Sundkler, Oosthuizen, Anderson and Daneel remain the eminent AIC scholars of our time." (Ibid., p. 179). In critiquing the white scholars, Maluleke concludes, "we may note that a lot more benefit than meets the eye accrues to the historic mission churches (than to the AICs themselves) from studies of AICs." (Ibid.). In discussing blacks and AIC members in AIC scholarship, Maluleke quotes Sundkler's quotation as the sum of his argument. Sundkler states: "I am fully conscious that my account does not reach the heart of the matter. I doubt whether any outsider can achieve that. However sympathetic an attitude the White observer may take, he remains – an outsider. The Bantu Churches of South Africa had not yet got – as the Negroes of the United States have – their own Richard Wright to record the rhythm of Black voices and to feel the heartbeat of the Black man's longing and aspirations." (Ibid., p. 180). As for the few black reflections on the AICs, these, according to Maluleke, "reveal a nuanced approach and assessment of the AICs – critical at points but deeply reflective, respectful and certainly not dismissive" (Ibid., pp. 183-184). For some of Sundkler's works, see: Sundkler, B. (1961). *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. London: Oxford University Press. Sundkler, B. (1976). *The World of Mission*. London: Lutterworth Press; and Sundkler, B., & Steed, C. (2000). *A History of the Church in Africa*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

³⁰¹ According to Pretorius and Jafta, it was from 1893 that Ethiopianism was outgrowing its earlier ethnic particularism and was developing a pan-African vision. Ethiopianism became "a generic term to describe a whole range of the black man's efforts to improve his religious, educational, and political status in the country." (Elphick, R & Davenport, R. *Op. Cit.*, p. 214.).

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ SABMS Annual Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 11.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁰⁵ Ibid. The Wellington Movement, evangelical in character, has its origins in Europe, among the Huguenots. In South Africa in particular, the movement was spread by Andrew Murray (1828-1917), in the Cape of Good Hope. It first

native-led churches ought to be understood in the light of the white missionaries' perspective, which was that everything to do with native people was barbaric. Complimenting all these fields on their reports, the SABMS Committee added that these reports "share with [us] in the glorious enterprise of establishing the Kingdom of God on this earth amongst the backward races, where Our Lord is least known."³⁰⁶

As much as it was difficult for European missionaries to deal with native sects, in addition to the statistical losses when the native converts joined these movements, what worsened the issue were situations when Baptist native preachers left with their church members to join these sects. Despite the fall in numbers, however, the strict requirement for the admission of native converts into the Baptist Church was never compromised. For example: "During the year [1933], 161 have publicly professed conversion. We have now 341- 'on trial,' a sufficient indication of the care exercised with new converts. The laxity of many sects around makes such care indispensable."³⁰⁷ Toward the close of the 1930's, particularly in 1939, the converts in Pondoland and East Griqualand were "probably about 200, [who] have professed conversion from heathenism."³⁰⁸ Concerning these, the *Annual Report for 1939-1940* remarked, "Unfortunately a large number of them are lured away along the bypaths offered by the numerous sects. Every endeavour is made to gather them into weekly classes for teaching and preparation for baptism."³⁰⁹ The following year, when the government decided to prohibit the use of native residential allotments in locations and reserves for church and school purposes,³¹⁰ the SABMS blamed these native sects as the cause. Disappointed by this government announcement, the SABMS took solace from the fact that its work did, however, reach the "many slaves of darkness, ignorance and superstition,"³¹¹ who, as before, had "been freed by the Great Deliverer through the faithful ministries of our missionaries."³¹²

started as a religious community only among the Boers. In the Cape of Good Hope, at a place called Wellington, Murray founded a Missionary Institute for lay workers. This Institute further spread the movement in the country, as did Murray's many books on spirituality. the movement spread. Murray's influence resulted in a revival in the Dutch Reformed Church, about 1860. It was in this context that the first step was taken towards mission activity. And the first missionaries the Dutch Reformed Church called from abroad were McKidd and Gonin. (Sundkler, B., & Steed, C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 329.).

³⁰⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, pp.17-18.

³⁰⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1933-1934, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 18.

³⁰⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1939-1940, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 29.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1939-1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 16.

³¹¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 16.

³¹² Ibid.

Three years later, in 1943, in the Transkei in particular, church membership was reported to have decreased “by 37, owing largely to the influence of the late Rev. A. Ntshinga’s son-in-law who, having been ordained by some strange sects in the district after his father-in-law’s death, drew away some 50 Bantu members.”³¹³ Thus, “During the year there were 75 baptisms, 23 less than last year.” In Lambaland, where the Baptists through the SABMS established two boarding schools for native children, one for girls and the other for boys, the effect of these sects was also felt. In referring to them as cults, the Lambaland field report stated: “Other booklets and pamphlets have been printed and have proved useful in helping to counteract the flood of propaganda literature put out by cults whose teachings undermine our work.”³¹⁴ Nonetheless, “Mr Rendall had continued a correspondence course of Bible studies under the title “The School of Bible Knowledge.” He reports a student roll of 800, and expresses regret and disappointment that the various groups of evangelical Christians in South Africa have not done more to counter the effect of the free literature, correspondence courses and broadcasts (from Lourenco Marques) sponsored by the heretical sects.”³¹⁵

The criticism of these native “sects” by the European-led missionary societies, including the Baptists, ought to be noted. Also by this period, the other challenge for the SABMS was that, it was not only losing its native members to native “sects,” but also to “other [missionary] denominations.”³¹⁶ This, according to the Superintendent of the Transvaal field, Rev Eriksson, was due to “want of efficient teachers and well-trained [native] ministers.”³¹⁷ Hence, the SABMS, in its reports pertaining to the native training institutions, emphasised the need for well-trained teachers.

In dicephering reasons for this complaint by the SABMS that it is losing its members to the African Initiated Churches (AICs), Pretorius and Jafta³¹⁸ present a number of reasons commonly listed by the AICs as principal causes for their establishment. These were:

³¹³ SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 30.

³¹⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 34.

³¹⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 24.

³¹⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 53.

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 53-54.

³¹⁸ Pretorius, H. & Jafta, L. D. “A Branch Springs Out’: African Initiated Churches,” in Elphick, R. & Davenport, R. (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press,

... the frustrated desire of many Africans to become church leaders; colour prejudice practiced by missionaries and their failure to live by the Christian brotherhood they proclaimed; disputes over church discipline rooted in differing moral standards; the precedent schism and denominationalism in Western Christianity; personal ambition among Ethiopian founders and their conviction of a divine calling; the denial of black women Christians of adequate means of self-expression in church; and the availability of Scripture as basis for critique of mission Christianity.³¹⁹

Ethiopianism was therefore, a “direct expression of resistance against the missionaries, white settlers, and the colonial government.”³²⁰ Pretorius and Jafta further add: “The consciousness of oppression was distinctly marked in these churches and required no ‘agitation’ by African-Americans, as white opponents often claimed.”³²¹ From the complaints of numerous Ethiopian leaders, it is apparent, according to Pretorius and Jafta, “that spiritual matters were not the primary issue, but rather Africans’ dispossession from the land, the dispersal of groups from their homelands, the lack of legal resources, unemployment, starvation wages, poor education, poor urban housing, and police mistreatment of Africans.”³²²

7.5. Native Sunday and day schools education (1928-1948)

7.5.1. Sunday school education

As discussed in Chapter 4, discussion on native Sunday schools ended with the proposal by the SABMS to induce European Sunday schools to take a direct interest in native Sunday schools.³²³ This proposal was evidently heeded because by 1929, in the Transvaal field for example, the Superintendent, Rev Joyce could report: “It is also evident from the statistics that the genius of our native workers does not run in the direction of Sunday Schools. But we are glad to record that three of our European churches, those at Johannesburg, Pretoria and Germiston are sending workers to carry on schools in the churches of their location.”³²⁴ Rev Brailsford, Superintendent of Pondoland and East Griqualand, further argued in 1931 about the importance of native Sunday Schools. He reported, “Many of the converts come from the Sunday Schools, as also teachers for

pp. 211-226.

³¹⁹ Pretorius, H. & Jafta, L. D. *Op. Cit.*, p. 213.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ Minutes of 1924 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1924-1925*, p. 37.

³²⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1929, in *BU Handbook for 1929-1930*, p. 10.

the girls' classes."³²⁵ In the same year, Rev Joyce, Superintendent of the Transvaal field, reported:

A most promising feature is the development of Sunday Schools conducted by Europeans, in which some of our churches must receive honourable mention. These schools are held in the West and East locations in Johannesburg, conducted by the Central and Troyeville churches, and in Pretoria and Germiston. Our President and Treasurer have each a daughter engaged in this, and in Germiston it is the wife of the minister, who takes the lead. We rejoice in this direct contact between the young people of our churches and the natives in their home environment, and are sure that it must make for the spread of missionary interest and first hand knowledge.³²⁶

In the same report, three interesting features of the native churches under his care are mentioned. Firstly, that Rev Joyce "uses the Assistant's Fund to pay transport for his ministers to visit distant places and to come to him for conference [sic]."³²⁷ Secondly, "The sustentation fund which supplements the [native] ministers salaries is being reduced yearly."³²⁸ Lastly, "The white labour policy has had the effect of reducing the Natives of his churches to great poverty. He reports three stone, six brick, and five wood-and-iron churches, some brick lined."³²⁹ The following year, 1932, one of the most explicit statements regarding the Europeans' involvement in native Sunday Schools was made. That is, while the SABMS complemented the "Europeans from neighbouring churches [who] are undertaking Sunday School work amongst the Natives, as this is the kind of service requiring more knowledge of scripture [since the natives have less or none],"³³⁰ it lamented the lack of "a keener appreciation of the worth of the child than is generally found in Native circles."³³¹ But, while the SABMS lamented this lack, it was further to lament the lack of intelligent and trained native teachers, as will later be observed.

In subsequent years, native Sunday schools grew numerically. In describing this growth, the SABMS Committee reported, "We are glad to note the continuance of the new development reported last year from several centres where Native Sunday Schools are being carried on by

³²⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 14.

³²⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1931-1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 12.

³³¹ Ibid.

members of our neighbouring European Churches.”³³² For example, in East Pondoland, in 1933, regarding the 17 mission centres, “Brailsford estimates the combined Sunday attendances at 1,100, and in the 10 Sunday Schools we have an enrolment of 243. Day Schools have an average attendance of 149.”³³³ The *Report* further adds: “The applications from two chiefs for schools in their locations have had to be refused.”³³⁴ In Kaffraria, in 1935, “Sunday School work shows an advance with 6 Schools instead of 3, and an increase of scholars from 81 to 146.”³³⁵ In 1937 appeared for the first time an overall record covering all native Sunday schools under the SABMS. According to this record, “Work among the children is carried on in almost every centre, and it is cheering to note that there are no less than 65 Sunday Schools, with 137 teachers and 3263 scholars connected with our Missionary work.”³³⁶ In addition, “In several Reports from our Missionaries we read of splendid service given to the young in the Sunday Schools, and of the young people being won for Christ.”³³⁷

In the following year, 1938, these statistics grew to “70 Sunday Schools, ... 152 Sunday School teachers, with 3567 Sunday School scholars.”³³⁸ In the same *Report*, the SABMS emphasised the importance of Sunday schools by adding, “Remember that many of these children come from homes where the parents are not Christian, that they are all hearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, learning hymns about Him, memorising Scripture, and in other ways having impressions made upon their young lives that will never be obliterated; what a great opportunity we have in making this work possible!”³³⁹ And surely such impressions were indeed made upon their young lives, as this is evidenced by the later attitudes that some of the native ministers who were nurtured in such Sunday schools displayed.³⁴⁰ The *Report* further added: “Many [Europeans] who read this Report owe the deepest impressions made upon their minds to some Sunday School teacher, and so it will be with these thousands of native children who are in our B.M.S. Sunday Schools. Thank God for them!”³⁴¹ Mrs Morgan, wife of Rev H. H. Morgan, also wrote: “Our hope for the future as far as

³³² SABMS Annual Report for 1932-1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 9.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1934-1935, in BU Handbook for 1935-1936, p. 24.

³³⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1936-1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 28.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

³³⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1937-1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 31.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ See SABMS Reports and Minutes of the BU Assemblies from 1958 ff.

³⁴¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1937-1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 32.

the Church on earth is concerned lies in the Sunday School children, so it gives peculiar joy to say that our Sunday School work as a whole, in all centres, is the brightest and best indication of the influence we are having upon the villages and homes of the natives. Well-attended, bright, instructive, full of inspiring Bible stories, each class provides each child with something really worthwhile. The effects are gloriously obvious in the lives of the children.”³⁴²

The teachers complimented on their work were, without doubt, Europeans. Evidence of this is that, in Kaffraria, by 1939, the Superintendent, Rev Pape, was reporting on the need for intelligent and trained native teachers, amidst the “tangible love” – paternalistic though - shown by the Europeans through Christmas parcels – one such necessary missionary tool.³⁴³ He wrote:

Sunday School work has received the necessary attention and good progress had been made. There are now 12 Sunday Schools, 16 teachers and 404 scholars. These figures represent an advance over the last year of 3 schools, 5 teachers and 172 scholars. The gains are interesting because they show that the prejudice against paying any attention to the children and young people in our religious work is gradually being overcome. The need for intelligent and trained teachers is still great. The Christmas parcels again received from various European churches have once more demonstrated in tangible form to our Sunday Scholars that there are in our denomination such things as Christian love and brotherhood.³⁴⁴

Alongside Rev Pape’s report, Rev Brailsford, Superintendent of Pondoland and East Griqualand, while reporting, “To some extent the day schools feed the Sunday Schools,”³⁴⁵ added, “Not always is it possible to get suitable teachers but we endeavour to keep a sharp eye on the discipline of the schools.”³⁴⁶ The same *Report* by Rev Pape provides interesting information about the age group of the scholars attending the Sunday Schools, that is, during Douglas Nazo’s meetings “when most of those who decided for Christ were those who were either elder scholars or had passed through the schools.”³⁴⁷ Further, “Many of the best workers in the churches are

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ See Chapter 4, on how the Comaroffs argued that the gifts which accompanied Christianity were necessary objects to win the natives over and subserviently so, to European culture which was introduced through Christianity.

³⁴⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1938-1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 26. See also Chapter 4 concerning the discussion on European artifacts and trinkets as necessary missionary tools.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

young married people who gave themselves to Christ in these classes or Sunday Schools.”³⁴⁸ This young people’s work, which is under Mrs Brailsford’s “special care, includes also weekly Bible Classes at six or seven centres for boys and girls, [that these European young people] take a great interest in them. The girls’ classes have been carried on for many years and have proved very fruitful. ... We are hoping that the recently organized boys’ classes will be equally effective.”³⁴⁹

Probably as a result of the missionaries’ complaint about the lack of intelligent and trained native teachers, in 1939 at Kafulafuta, “the Preparation Class for the Sunday school, men and women teachers attending [took place].”³⁵⁰ These teachers had, the day previously, attended a Day School “Teachers’ Preparation Class on the Friday, so that uniform instruction is given.”³⁵¹ This mission station of Kafulafuta has in its “Sunday School and Bible Class an average attendance of between 80 and 90 [children].”³⁵² And at “Christmastime [sic] special services are held to which the parents and elders are invited, and they much enjoy the demonstrations the children are able to give by singing and recitation.”³⁵³ The Transvaal, under its Superintendent, Rev Eriksson, had in 1939, as previous years, the highest number of scholars. Further, by 1939, it incorporated the following parts of the country as its mission fields: Northern Natal, Orange Free State and Northern Cape. Reporting on the progress of its Sunday School, Rev Eriksson, Superintendent of the field, wrote: “We would like our friends to know that we have the Bantu Sunday Schools at the following centres: Springs, Brakpan, Benoni, Boksburg, Germiston, Eastern Native Township, Western Native Township, Orlando, Pretoria, Alexandria, Cornfields, Thembalihle, Kimberley, Campbell and Pietermaritzburg. There are some 1,300 children attending these schools. We especially wish to express our thanks to our European Young People who so faithfully assist us in running these Sunday Schools.”³⁵⁴

As with the older white people, the younger Europeans were also socialised in an environment that perceived the native as inferior. Their encounter with the native and his environment without doubt presented a contrast to the environment they lived in and to which they would return after

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

³⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

³⁵² Ibid., p. 32.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

“running these Sunday Schools.” And, for the most part, their encounter seems not to have had any other major effect on them except to affirm their God-given role to mentor the natives into being and living as Christians, using European models as exemplary, and gradually being introduced into “civilization.”³⁵⁵ Further, it needs to be remembered that these native Sunday Schools were not only attended by the native children, but also by the married couples, as indicated above. It is therefore critical to note the fact that young white people were occasionally made to run these Sunday Schools. In so doing, the native teachers were seen to be untrained; worse, unintelligent, and they were also perceived to lack an appreciation of the native child. Thus, the Comaroffs rightly concluded that Europeans perpetually infantilized the natives.³⁵⁶ As the SABMS yearly complimented the European young people for their work among the natives, in 1940, it also mentioned that it “wishes to make special mention of the many friends in the European Churches, largely young people, who give much of their time week by week to carrying on Sunday School and other work amongst the Bantu people in the various centres where our Missionary work is established.”³⁵⁷ And, as the Sunday Schools grew in numbers, they were in the words of Rev Brailsford, Superintendent of Pondoland, “giving hope for the future.”³⁵⁸ In order to encourage the natives’ Sunday Schools to keep growing in numbers and to compete with other such Sunday Schools, in doing so, the BU Assembly of 1942 reported for the first time concerning the South African National Sunday School Certificates that, “Shield No. 2 (Non-European Schools): [was won by] Battswood (Cape),”³⁵⁹ while “Shield No. 1 (European Schools): [was won by] Germiston.”³⁶⁰ Relating to the shield for non-Europeans, “Mr Chappel was heartily thanked for the gift of a new shield No. 2, it being agreed that Jarvis Street School (the most frequent winners) should hold the shield on which there is no room for more names.”³⁶¹

Statistically, by 1943, the membership of the native churches “under the control of the SABMS rose from 9,013 to 9,515, an increase of 502. The membership of the affiliated Indian Churches increased from 795 to 818. The number of baptisms reported was 734 in Native Churches (a slight

³⁵⁵ See also Chapter 4 concerning “gradualism” as a necessary process for the native to be successfully assimilated into civilization and European culture.

³⁵⁶ See also Chapter 4.

³⁵⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1939-1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 13.

³⁵⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 21.

³⁵⁹ Minutes of 1942 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 63.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

decrease of 9 as compared to the previous year) and 36 (a decrease of 6) in Indian Churches.”³⁶² In connection with the native Sunday Schools, “the number of workers rose from 169 to 212 (an increase of 47), but the number of scholars fell from 5,007 to 4,761 (a decrease of 227). In the Indian Sunday Schools the figures remain very much as before.”³⁶³ Concerning these figures, the “Statistical Secretary calls special attention to the fact that in some Bantu schools there is, on average, only one teacher to forty scholars.”³⁶⁴ The following year, in 1944, what the missionaries thought would be an easy relationship between teachers working at the SABMS-founded day schools or those day schools within the SABMS field, automatically assisting in Sunday School work, turned out not to be the case. In the Transkei for example, the Superintendent, Rev Peinke, reported: “It is regrettable that most of the Day School teachers in this area are not earnest Christians and are not keen to do Sunday School work. They consider themselves paid Government servants and nothing else.”³⁶⁵ As a result, Rev Peinke hoped that “with [the] young ministers coming into the work who have been trained at the Ennals Institute there is already an improvement in this important branch of the work.”³⁶⁶

As with the Transkei field, in Pondoland, Rev Brailsford, the Superintendent, reported the following concerning the native Sunday School teachers: “The teachers are not what the missionary could wish – many of them have had no experience of such work – but training classes conducted by Mrs Brailsford have helped greatly.”³⁶⁷ And at Kaffraria, by 1945, while “Sunday school work is growing gradually, ..., the greatest difficulty in connection with this work is to find suitable teachers.”³⁶⁸ But in the same year, at Lambaland, Sunday schools figures dropped. This was “owing to circumstances over which our Missionaries had no control: mass movements of the people by order of the Government automatically closed a number of schools.”³⁶⁹ Notwithstanding this setback, “The Executive realise the vital importance of Sunday school work and are doing their best to foster it.”³⁷⁰ However, a “great difficulty has been the lack of Native

³⁶² SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, pp. 24-25.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1943-1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 26.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁶⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 25.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

workers with the necessary capacity and sense of responsibility.”³⁷¹

In 1945, for the first time in the history of the native Sunday Schools under the SABMS, a native was appointed Sunday school organiser. This role used to be filled by the wife of the Superintendent, “obviously” a European. About this, Rev Eriksson reported:

... the work in the Transvaal field has received a new impetus by the appointment of the Rev. Jas. Piliso as Sunday school organiser. He has visited all the Bantu Churches on the Reef to foster Sunday school work, and during July, with a student from the Millard Institute, he visited the Churches in the Northern Transvaal conducting missions, especially for children. Reports tell of much blessing amongst the adults and children alike. The Bantu Baptist Church has the honour of being a pioneer in setting apart a Minister to develop Sunday school work.³⁷²

This is the same Rev Piliso who, in October 1944 when Mrs Eriksson visited the Bantu Baptist Women’s Association (BBWA) Convention “for a three days Convention of Bantu Women,”³⁷³ he together with Rev Eriksson and Rev Lepele, conducted special services immediately following the Convention. At these meetings, “about 60 men and women asked for special prayer.”³⁷⁴ Further, “Other districts have asked for similar meetings.”³⁷⁵ But Rev Piliso, as was the case with other native leaders, was to be quickly brought under the “guidance” of a European person. In 1946, the Transvaal Sunday School was reported to have “received special attention during the year under Mr J. G. Purvis and Rev. J. Piliso.”³⁷⁶ In addition, “Valuable help has also been given by European friends who have conducted schools in various Bantu Churches on the Reef and at Pretoria, Kimberley, Bloemfontein and Pietermaritzburg.”³⁷⁷ The following year, 1947, Rev Piliso’s name is no longer mentioned, instead the Superintendent, Rev Eriksson, reported: “Sunday School work is being cared for ably and enthusiastically by Mr J. G. Purvis with the help of the Rev Joseph Nyati and many European friends whose assistance is greatly valued. Mr Purvis aims at building up a company of Native young men and women trained to teach in the Sunday

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Ibid., p. 29.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid. It is important to note the beginnings of the use of the term “Convention” to refer to native meetings, unlike in the previous years when Baptists also used to refer to native meetings as assemblies. The term “Convention” was to take on great significance in 1965 with the formation of the Bantu Baptist Convention and in 1987 with the formation of the Baptist Convention of South Africa.

³⁷⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 21.

Schools attached to our Bantu Churches. We thank him for his valuable work.”³⁷⁸ In 1948, Mr Purvis was again in the fore while Rev Nyathi in the back, as it evidenced in Eriksson report: “Sunday School work has been well cared for under the enthusiastic leadership of Mr J. G. Purvis and his Bantu helper Rev Joseph Nyathi. This very important branch of Missionary enterprise has been a great help and encouragement to the Ministers and Churches.”³⁷⁹

In Kaffraria, during which in 1946 there were 14 Sunday Schools, the scholars numbered “535 scholars as against 474 in 1944-1945.”³⁸⁰ Further, the “Sunday Schools have improved not only in numbers but in the quality of the work.”³⁸¹ Interestingly, “During Mr Pape’s absence the work of the Kaffrarian field was supervised, as far as possible, by Rev Shad. Mashologu to whom thanks are due.”³⁸² Thanks are also “expressed for [the] greatly appreciated Christmas parcels from various Baptist Women’s Associations”³⁸³ for the Sunday scholars. But in 1948 when Rev Pape, Superintendent of Kaffraria was disappointed that the “Baptist Women’s and Men’s Association could not have been the help they might have been,”³⁸⁴ he acknowledged that Sunday Schools “have shown a healthy growth which is largely due to the initiative taken by the men who were trained in the Ennals Institute. The advance has been in the rural areas.”³⁸⁵

In the same year, in the Transkei field, as was the case with other mission fields, the SABMS Committee reported the following about Rev Peinke, Superintendent of the field, that “There is one disquieting feature which is causing the Superintendent much concern and sorrow, and it is that though this field has the largest grant from the Government (over £3000) the Sunday School is weak, the reason being that the day School teachers are just not interested in Sunday School work. Mr Peinke asks for special prayer for this phase of Mission work, that God will send teachers that are concerned about the souls of their pupils.”³⁸⁶ But one may ask the question about Rev Peinke’s concern: Why is it that the Superintendents constantly complained about this

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ SABMS Annual Report of 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 49.

³⁷⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1947-1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 53.

³⁸⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 17.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1947-1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 55.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

lack of interest by the native teachers in the day Schools? Briefly, the European Superintendents had thought that their involvement in day schools would be a reciprocal relation, resulting in native teachers involvement in their mission churches' Sunday schools. Unfortunately, this was not the case for the missionaries as they would realise that the nature of (European) Superintendent-and-native relations characteristic of the mission stations could not be applied in government owned schools.

To conclude this discussion on the SABMS Sunday school work among the natives, in the Northern Field,³⁸⁷ the Superintendent, Rev Eriksson, reported, concerning Mr Purvis, who was now "Superintendent of this very important branch of our Mission work, [that he] has toiled enthusiastically through the year, supported by a fine band of young people from the European Churches on the Rand and Pretoria. Warmest thanks are accorded these voluntary workers, bidding them remember the words of the Master: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me.'"³⁸⁸ This mission, by 1948, had 4682 scholars in its Sunday Schools.³⁸⁹

7.5.2. Day School education

As indicated in Chapter 5, day schools were supported for the most part by government grants. Besides the day schools there is, however, a record of a night school, in Durban, under Rev J. Siyo. This school had 76 students on the roll at no cost to the SABMS. Post-1927, day school education under the "care" of the SABMS kept growing. This care took the form of European

³⁸⁷ Northern Field refers to the same field that had been under Rev Eriksson. That is, the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Northern Natal and Northern Cape.

³⁸⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 63.

³⁸⁹ These Sunday schools, also indicative of the spread of these churches were: Eastern Township (125); Orlando, Pinville and Vereeniging (620); Western Native Township (60); Alexandra (80); Krugersdorp (50); Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Bloemhof and Parys (48); Harrismith, Rheibokspruit, Vrede, Kaalkoenskrans and Standerton (201); Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Germiston, Kaalfontein, and Modderdeep (603); Nigel (143); Springs, Devon, Delmas, Heidelberg and Witbank (350); Hatfield, Atteridgeville, Klipspruit and Bynesspoort (650); Potgietersrust (47); Leeuwpoort, Rooiberg, and Thabazimbi (171); Molepo's Location (48); Frankfort, Elandsfontein and District (43); Rustenburg, Belfast, Witbank, Balfour and Walmanstad (70); Rust der Winter (105); Cornelia, Langerwag, Frankfort and Villiers (31); Warden (20); Wayside (200); Bloemfontein (130); Petrus Steyn Location, Reitz and, Viljoensdrift (20); Maleleng (35); Cornfields, Thembalihle, Mugwenya, Nquto and Weenen (142); Umgani Road and District (238); Clone's Farm (9); Ingogo (45); Gezubuzo (57); Native Village and Cato Ridge (120); Kimberley and District (350); Campbell (33); and Warrenton (10). (Statistical Returns as at 30th June 1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, pp. 81-83.) Unfortunately, there are no statistical figures of 1945, the year that Rev Piliso was in charge of this Sunday school work, in order to compare if there is any great difference when the work was under Rev Piliso or Mr Purvis.

Superintendents distributing the salaries of the native teachers, as earlier discussed. The government gave this responsibility to them. This is the reason why the Superintendents would yearly report on the government grants to the schools in their fields. For example, in 1931, at Pondoland, the Superintendent, Rev Brailsford reported that the "Government grants £225 towards the day schools with 230 children."³⁹⁰ But the following year, 1932, in East Pondoland and East Griqualand, appeared for the first time in the history of these Day Schools, a record of a school financially carried by the natives themselves. Reporting on this, Rev Brailsford mentioned: "This is by far the most successful field for school work carried on by the Natives themselves."³⁹¹ Expounding on the reason for the natives to rise to the challenge, Rev Brailsford further added: "Perhaps it is partly explained by the fact that we have three Government schools with 160 scholars, and two private schools with 60."³⁹²

Rev Piliso was given oversight of Sunday Schools and was in 1945 in charge of native Sunday schools in the Transvaal, Northern Cape and Northern Natal, though for a year, twelve years earlier, at Glen Grey, a native in 1932 was given oversight of five schools. According to Rev Peinke, Superintendent of the Transkei under which Glen Grey fell: "The Executive have come very reluctantly to the conclusion that, on the grounds of health, the time has come for the retirement of our [European] Lady Missionaries in Glen Grey."³⁹³ As a result, "The six Churches will come under the pastoral oversight of Rev Philip Ngqoro."³⁹⁴ Further, "The Education Department has accepted our nomination of him as the manager of the five schools."³⁹⁵ But, "The whole work will remain as before under the Superintendence of Mr Peinke."³⁹⁶ The same year, in East Pondoland, "Day Schools [had] an average attendance of 149,"³⁹⁷ an attendance less than that of the Sunday Schools which had an enrolment of 243.³⁹⁸ However, "The applications from two chiefs for schools in their location have had to be refused."³⁹⁹ No reasons for this refusal are advanced. However, the SABMS had always seen it to be necessary to co-operate and win the

³⁹⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 14.

³⁹¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1931-1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 15.

³⁹² *Ibid.*

³⁹³ SABMS Annual Report for 1932-1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 10.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

favour of native chiefs in order that it might gain access to the territory under the chief concerned. To publicise their relations with native chiefs, the SABMS constantly made mention of the chiefs who participated in Baptist activities, such as: attending church services, attending the baptism of their children and inviting the SABMS to open either a school or a church building. But of special interest for the SABMS was the conversion and baptism of a chief.⁴⁰⁰

In 1934, at a mission site in Kalana, at Kaffraria, the *Report* presented another example of the connection between mission work and native education. According to the Superintendent, Rev Pape, "There are now splendid prospects of united work, leading to a quickened spiritual life throughout Kaffraria. The Mission site in Kalana has been occupied, a building erected and a Day School started, the continuance of which is dependent upon increased support."⁴⁰¹ But he added, "The work cannot be continued on this site without the School."⁴⁰² The same year, in Transkei, Rev Peinke, Superintendent of the field, reported, "The Government are [sic] transferring a School Grant to our Society."⁴⁰³ In the same year at East Pondoland and East Griqualand, there were "5 Day Schools successfully operating, with a daily average of over 170,"⁴⁰⁴ a fewer number than in the 18 Sunday Schools that had 467 scholars.⁴⁰⁵ These schools "have received Government grants amounting to £228."⁴⁰⁶

The founding of schools for the education of native children was not an attempt solely limited to the efforts by the missionaries. For example, at Bikwe, in the Transkei, "the non-Christian natives have started a School and are supporting a Teacher,"⁴⁰⁷ who according to Rev Peinke, are "thus laying the foundation of a new Church work."⁴⁰⁸ Such an utterance by Rev Peinke is another example of the benefit of native efforts, for European missionaries. In a moderate tone unlike the typical criticism of anything that had to do with the natives, particularly when it is led by natives, Rev Peinke saw the opening of this new school as providing an opportunity to initiate new church work. Concerning the SABMS's own work in the Transkei, in particular at Glen Grey, Rev

⁴⁰⁰ See Chapter 4.

⁴⁰¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1933-1934, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 17.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1934-1935, in BU Handbook for 1935-1936, p. 25.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

Peinke reported, "we have received a Grant for a second teacher for our School at Kalonga. This is a double satisfaction because it has enabled us to appoint Mrs Ntlahla."⁴⁰⁹ In 1937 appeared another informative record, this time regarding the salaries of the native teachers. According to Rev Brailsford, at Glen Grey, "We have six day schools, three of them with five teachers being supported by the government, two by the Society, and one by the people. These have an enrolment of about 400. During the year grants to the amount of £345 have been received."⁴¹⁰ Also of particular interest to the SABMS, besides the arrival of these funds, was the fact that "This work is well worth while as the Gospel is preached to the children and many hear of the Saviour for the first time in the day school."⁴¹¹

Concerning the areas "where there is little or no educational work being done by the Government, as is the case in many places,"⁴¹² the SABMS Committee observed that "it is essential that provision of some kind should be made, so that the children in our Christian families should be able to read and write."⁴¹³ These schools are "also a means of attracting many children to come and learn to read the Bible, and hear of the Lord who loved the children."⁴¹⁴ Thus, "Small wonder [according to the SABMS] that many of our schools are very popular."⁴¹⁵ The work "is well worth while, as the following shows,"⁴¹⁶ in the field's superintended by Rev Brailsford.

The Day Schools have grown considerably during the year. The enrolment now stands at 455. The Schools comprise three Government aided Schools, two private Schools supported by the Missionary Society and one new School supported by the native people. The natives are also supporting two additional teachers in Government Schools. Government grants to the amount of £347 have been received.⁴¹⁷

Tshabo Mission, the first native mission school founded by the German Baptists as early as 1856, was in 1939 reported by Rev Pape, Superintendent of Kaffraria, to have been "unfortunately for a

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1936-1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 31.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴¹² SABMS Annual Report for 1937-1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 30.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

long time ... the only government aided Baptist Mission school in the field.”⁴¹⁸ Concerning the other schools in the field, Rev Pape further reported: “Since last year we have had three such government aided schools with a present enrolment of 323 pupils. In the way of the teachers’ salaries, the government pays £276.”⁴¹⁹ Interestingly, in the same field, there was the “Qanda United School (Methodist and Baptist) [which] has 139 children on its roll, of whom 67 are Baptist children.”⁴²⁰ There are also “three private schools with 270 pupils in Kaffraria. We thus have 7 schools supplying the educational needs of 596 children.”⁴²¹ Concerning Tshabo,

... the government has started a combined model school garden and agricultural demonstration plot for the inhabitants. A self-supporting weaving school under our supervision has also been opened in connection with our educational work in the same place. These features are helping to put Tshabo, our oldest station, more prominently upon the educational map of South Africa.⁴²²

In Pondoland and East Griqualand, while “government grants to the amount of £360 have been received for the support of five teachers, two are supported by the Society and three by the people of the locality.”⁴²³ But running a government school is not an easy task, as Miss Bellin, a missionary at Kafulafuta, experienced. She wrote:

I commenced duties in this sphere also in October, and from the first felt it to be soil in which to work, but while recognising the possibilities the difficulties loomed. At that time there were about 30 children attending, ranging from perhaps 5 years to 35 years and varying in standard of work from Beginners to Std. 4, their [native] teacher Jameson having been educated first in the old Kafulafuta Boarding School and then in the Government Teacher Training School, passing through Std 5. He had some of the Beginners from 9-10am and some of the older boys in the afternoons from 1.30-4pm. With the others he struggled from 10am-1pm, one body, one mind, one spirit to cope with the situation – his spirit inspired by his Christianity keeping him going – but do you wonder that a sense of hopelessness sometime overcame him, and that he welcomed the advent of a helper? The material which our teachers are trying to mould is comprised for the most part of village children, who have no sense of discipline, punctuality or regularity and little sense of gratitude or obligation. I find Jameson an excellent teacher, efficient and ready to put a great deal of effort into his work in order to have things run successfully. The numbers vary from 20 to 40 according to the call upon the children

⁴¹⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1938-1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 26.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

⁴²² *Ibid.*

to garden work and other attractions and distractions!⁴²⁴

Besides this station, there were “five outstations at only one of which we have a regular school with a teacher (untrained) as well as the evangelist.”⁴²⁵ But Miss Bellin stressed: “I think it must be hardly necessary to remark that as our teachers are one and all first and foremost Evangelists their first aim in their school work is to present Jesus Christ to the children and teach them the principles of Christian living from God’s Word, thus fitting them for living intelligent Christian lives when they do accept Christ as their Saviour.”⁴²⁶

The following year, 1939, the SABMS Committee reported in similar fashion about Miss Bellin by stating that, “A number of Day Schools are carried on in connection with our Missionary work, especially in the Transkei, Kaffraria and Pondoland. These Schools are under direct Government supervision and Government Educational Grants are given each year.”⁴²⁷ But, could the European missionaries’ use of government schools for missionary purposes be the abuse of the same? Or could it be that because they were asked by the government to oversee these schools there was an unwritten agreement between the government and them? These grants were received during this year by these government schools: Transkei (£834), Pondoland (£347), and Kaffraria (£279).⁴²⁸ During the same year, however, “A number of our [SABMS] native workers have been asking what can be done to provide simple education for their children.”⁴²⁹ But, “the Executive has not, up to the present, felt that it could provide the money necessary for hostel accommodation for these children. The matter is, however, receiving the careful attention of the Executive.”⁴³⁰ The committee further added, “It is important that the boys and girls of Christian parents should receive some education, as we rely upon them to become the future workers in our Churches, and it is right that we should do whatever is possible to give them a simple education.”⁴³¹ Nonetheless, “Our Missionaries are deeply grateful for the constant help that is

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1939-1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 16.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

given to them in this work by the officials of the Government Education Department.”⁴³²

Independent native Christian churches, as discussed in Chapter 5, were perceived by the SABMS as sects, doing nothing else than obstructing the good Christian work that was being pioneered by mainline denominations. These sects, according to the European missionaries who founded denominations such as the Baptists, offered nothing but false religion. The criticism of these sects was not only limited to church matters, but also involved their effect on education. According to the SABMS, in 1940 for example, “many of these sects, unconnected with any large denominational Missionary Society, were springing up, causing division amongst the native people.”⁴³³ As a result, the government, as hinted before, issued instructions prohibiting the use of native residential allotments in the Native Locations and Reserves for Church and School purposes. The result of this action was that “the evangelistic work carried on by our Missionaries and their native helpers was brought to a standstill.”⁴³⁴

The United Baptist-Methodist School, in Qanda, at Kaffraria, was reportedly “making very satisfactory progress,”⁴³⁵ by 1941. Also at Kaffraria, “there are private schools at Dongwe and Lower Tshabo. For the support of their private schools the [native] people themselves raised approximately £50.”⁴³⁶ The *Report* further added concerning Kaffraria, “A Government grant has now been obtained for the Beaconhurst School, bringing the number of Government schools up to 4.”⁴³⁷ The grant for the Beaconhurst School was due to the efforts of “Mr Pape and Mr Mashologu [who] are to be congratulated.”⁴³⁸ While the natives in Kaffraria managed to raise funds for private schools: Dongwe and Lower Tshabo respectively, in Pondoland, the “3 private schools have been continued but, despite repeated efforts, grants for these have not been obtained.”⁴³⁹ However, at three government schools, “The Government provides for 6 teachers, the Society for 2, and the [native] people themselves for 4.”⁴⁴⁰ The reality that these native schools faced without the assistance of government funds was that they functioned when funds

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1940-1941, in *BU Handbook for 1941-1942*, p. 17.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

were available and closed when they were not. For example, in the case of the Transkei field, "When the people can collect funds they get a teacher but the schools have to be closed down when funds are exhausted and reopen when the people can afford it."⁴⁴¹ This implies that the natives were on their own.

Concerning the SABMS native workers' request that the SABMS Committee attend to the education of their children, the Committee reported in the same year, 1941, concerning the Boarding School at Kafulafuta, "We lost no time in starting this as soon as permission was received from the Executive. Ten children were received, mostly the children of our evangelists. Among them are several promising lads who, we hope, will be useful in the work in the future. Six of these have come to give themselves to the Lord while they have been there."⁴⁴² As a result, "We feel that this boarding school is the very backbone of things and we are grateful that we have been able to start it."⁴⁴³ Regarding the day school, also at Kafulafuta, Miss Doke, a missionary working with Miss Bellin, wrote, "The Government was pleased with the progress of the school under the capable management of Miss Bellin and urged us to put up two buildings to the cost of which they would help on the pound for pound basis."⁴⁴⁴ The report adds, "The Executive realised the opportunity and £20 was sent to enable a start to be made. No time lost."⁴⁴⁵ At the end of April brick making began and 5,000 Kimberley bricks were made in a fortnight. The brick-work "of the first building was completed in 10 days by one amateur bricklayer and myself, Miss Bellin helping on Saturdays! Others were all cutting the grass, poles; bark rope, etc – even children doing their bit. The second building is now ready for the roof."⁴⁴⁶ Further alluding to the progress made at Kafulafuta, Miss Doke mentioned: "For the first time the Kafulafuta School has helped two boys through their standard IV exams."⁴⁴⁷

Besides the United School run by the Baptists and the Methodists in Kaffraria, there were also in 1942, according to Rev Pape, "four Government aided schools with six teachers, and we have a

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁴² Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

share in two [other] united schools.”⁴⁴⁸ In addition, two private schools were maintained, and the “native people themselves raised £50 towards the salaries of private teachers.”⁴⁴⁹ At “Tshabo school standard V has been introduced.”⁴⁵⁰ In the Transkei field, the day schools had grown to ten, “seven of which are Government aided. Three are aided by the Society. The Government contribution amounted to £917.”⁴⁵¹ The same year’s *Report*, 1942, recorded the SABMS’s first day school, though it was government owned, as was the case with others. Reporting on this, the Superintendent of the Transvaal, Rev Eriksson, wrote: “The outstanding event of the year was the opening of the Law Palmer Memorial School in December 6th, 1941.”⁴⁵² This school was part of the SABMS’s Orlando Scheme comprising the Millard Training Institute, Church, the Law Palmer a Day School, the Manual Training School and the Manse.⁴⁵³ As part of its investment in this scheme, “The Executive records its hearty thanks to Mr M. A. Cross and Mr F. Jennings for loans free of interest.”⁴⁵⁴ The school had a staff of five teachers and over 250 scholars. Since the opening, “a Woodwork Room has been added and a Woodwork Instructor appointed by the Education Department. The cost of the furniture and tools has been met by the Department.”⁴⁵⁵ And “The buildings and furniture have been insured.”⁴⁵⁶

While the number of day schools grew, the SABMS did not want to lose its missionary purpose in these schools. Thus, in Lambaland, the Superintendent, Rev Rendall, reported regarding the day school at Fiwale Hill where there was an attendance of about 150, that the “station evangelist gives a daily Scripture lesson.”⁴⁵⁷ Further, at Kafulafuta, concerning the children studying there, Miss Doke reported: “they made good progress and several give promise of future usefulness as teachers and evangelists.”⁴⁵⁸ While the Baptists had a joint partnership with some denominations regarding certain native schools, for example, the United Baptist-Methodist School, there was still antagonism towards other denominations, such as the Roman Catholic Church, for example. At Fiwale Hill, in 1942, Rev Rendall reported: “At another place, where the Roman Catholics were

⁴⁴⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 20.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., p. 21.

⁴⁵² Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 26.

very actively attempting to proselytise, the evangelist and the people built a church-school, with the result that whereas Catholic scholars number about 2, ours number nearly 150.”⁴⁵⁹

The nature of the missionaries’ involvement in native education, which was primarily for missionary purposes, meant also a mission effort which was intent on transforming native culture. For example, also in 1942, at Kafulafuta, Miss Bellin, who was also involved in the administration of Day Schools in her field, had founded a “Wayfarer-Guide Company.”⁴⁶⁰ Among the natives, “the movement is essentially Christian and the experiment has already justified itself.”⁴⁶¹ This movement, according to Miss Bellin, would help in “The development of work amongst girls [which] is the more important because, in Lambaland hitherto, the women have not been looked upon as much more than porridge-coolers and child-bearers.”⁴⁶²

Regarding the Orlando Scheme in the Transvaal, it is interesting to note that, in the Millard Institute, “classes in ordinary secular subjects are conducted by some of the teachers attached to the Orlando day school.”⁴⁶³ During the next year, 1943, in Pondoland, the day schools were reported to “continue to make progress.”⁴⁶⁴ There were six schools with the total number of 450 children. Further, “Another private school was to be opened in July supported by the Chief and the people of the locality and at Mbongweni, where additional accommodation was needed, the Chief and people have undertaken the cost and the work.”⁴⁶⁵ In the same year, at Pietersburg, the “Chief of the district, Molepo, has shown great interest in the school, he has given and collected money and is using his influence to help to secure Government recognition.”⁴⁶⁶ This Chief Molepo, as early as 1936, “though not a Christian, [was] much in favour of the [mission] work and has given both Mr Joyce and Mr Eriksson a welcome when they have visited the district.”⁴⁶⁷ Further, “in the Chief Molepo’s Location, ... , there are 363 Church Members, they have a fine stone Church which they themselves built and paid for, and they are eager to be taught.”⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 27.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴⁶⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1935-1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 22.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

Furthermore, "At one prayer Meeting at 7 o'clock in the morning, we had close to 200 people present, many taking part in the prayer."⁴⁶⁹ Delighted about the number, Rev Eriksson wrote, "I do not remember when I had a more appreciative congregation to preach to, morning, noon and night. On the Sunday we had about 400 people at one Service."⁴⁷⁰

The year 1943 was the year when most of the day schools had the buildings built or renovated. Firstly, at Orlando, "Useful additions and improvements have been made to the buildings. A room for boarders (boys attending our school and the High School adjoining) has been erected, thus freeing the Millard Institute building from a use that was not altogether desirable."⁴⁷¹ For the adjacent church, the Orlando Baptist Church, "Asbestos ceilings have been put in the Church, vestries, porch, etc. The floors of the Church, boarders' room and veranda have been asphalted."⁴⁷² This work, "which is a great improvement, has been made possible by the generosity of friends as well as contributions from the Jubilee Fund."⁴⁷³ There is no doubt that the Europeans' contributions made it possible to accomplish these renovations and improvements. Appreciating their contributions, the *Report* further recorded: "Hearty thanks are given to the Johannesburg City Engineer and Mrs Hamblin (who promised to find the balance of the asphaltting cost more than an estimated amount), to Messrs Surmon & Co., who sent in a receipted account for bricks valued at £25, and to Mrs A. H. Chapman for a special donation of £20."⁴⁷⁴ "At Pietersburg," Rev Eriksson reported, "[a] three-roomed Day School has been erected here and paid for. Its value is approximately £300/400."⁴⁷⁵ The chief of the district, Chief Molepo, as mentioned above, "has shown great interest in the school."⁴⁷⁶ Lastly, at Potgietersrust, "Arrangement has been made for the erection of a Day School building here also. The Native people themselves have made 15,000 bricks for the purpose and Government support has been promised."⁴⁷⁷

With regard to the united schools, in Kaffraria, the Baptists "continue to have a share in two [of

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 32.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

them].”⁴⁷⁸ There was in addition, one private school. Further, “In addition to the nine teachers paid by the Government there are two private teachers, one partly supported by the Society and the other solely supported by the people. The number of scholars is nearly 5000. Government grants total £648.”⁴⁷⁹ But of particular importance for the SABMS is for the government to have received “teachers of good character and, helped by their influence, the Day Schools offer an excellent opportunity of spreading Christian influence in the homes of the Bantu people.”⁴⁸⁰ In Pondoland, the Superintendent, Rev Payn, reported, “We have been fortunate of late in being able to secure a better class of teachers. Eight of them are either members of our Churches or have been brought up in our schools.”⁴⁸¹ But, added Rev Payn, “teachers are not all what the missionary could wish - many them have had no experience of such work.”⁴⁸²

In the same year, 1944, at Orlando, occurred another new missionary initiative, this time by the Superintendent, Rev Eriksson. He had “gladly undertaken the task of arranging for free meals to children attending the Orlando school. For this purpose, and to provide the necessary equipment, a sum of £181.9s.2d. has been received from the Government.”⁴⁸³ Given that some fields had good Christian teachers while the majority did not, the same year, at Fiwale Hill, Rev Rendall, Superintendent of Lambaland, made “[an] urgent request for permission to start a Boarding School for Boys, with the main idea of training our own Christian teachers for the Day School work which will be one of the chief avenues of evangelisation in the future.”⁴⁸⁴ To this request, and “After full consideration the Executive have agreed to Mr Rendall’s proposal which involves a capital outlay for buildings and an annual grant.”⁴⁸⁵ Following this report, the next record of this endeavour was in 1946. According to this report, it seemed however, that not all scholars who attended this new school proposed by Rev Rendall were intent on becoming teachers. This can be deduced from the tone of the report which was less positive compared to the 1944 report. That is, this Boys’ Boarding School, at Fiwale Hill, with 36 boys in residence, has as “One of [its] main purpose to give a good grounding to those who may become day school teachers.”⁴⁸⁶ *The Report*

⁴⁷⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1943-1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 25.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., p. 32.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 23.

then wrote, "It is hoped that some of the boys will go to the S.A.G.M. training centre at Mutanda Bridge to take the Teacher's Course under positive Christian influence."⁴⁸⁷

The last report on this school was in the following year, 1947, during which Rev Rendall wrote: "The Boys' Boarding School continues with between 40 and 50 pupils, its usefulness limited by the slenderness of our financial resources. It is from this school that we hope our future Evangelists and Christian teachers will come. There is need for constant prayer that its high purpose may not be frustrated by the enemy."⁴⁸⁸ However, following this report, the missionaries started complaining about the burden that these schools were causing them. These missionaries, particularly those in Lambaland where this Boys' Boarding School was located, preferred though hesitantly, that the government take over the day-to-day running of these schools.

Rev Eriksson's arrangement for meals for the children attending the Orlando school in Kaffraria led to a larger plan being adopted, in 1944. Reporting on this scheme, Rev Pape, Superintendent of the field stated: "The National Feeding Scheme has been introduced into all Government day schools in the Kaffrarian area. Under the Education Department it is beginning to function more satisfactorily than formerly."⁴⁸⁹ The implications of this for the SABMS are that, "An additional heavy burden has been thrown upon the shoulders of our workers, but this has been accepted gladly because of the good the scheme is doing. It has helped materially to lessen the serious consequences of drought."⁴⁹⁰

While the Glen Grey field produced in 1933 the first native to manage its schools, followed in 1945 by Mr Philip Ngqoro who accepted the nomination by the SABMS to manage the same schools, the third native to manage any schools was Rev L. Soga. He managed the schools in Queenstown. These schools received in 1945 nearly £500 from the government. Reporting on his performance, Rev Peinke, Superintendent of Transkei wrote, though briefly, about Rev Soga, "He appears to be doing well."⁴⁹¹ At Kafulafuta, the day school had "for the first time a class of six boys and one girl sent up, as a class, for the Government Standard IV examination. They all

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 52.

⁴⁸⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 23.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., p. 25.

passed, four in the first class and three in the second.”⁴⁹² Worth noting in the same *Report* is the specific mention that “The girl is the wife of a Fiwale Hill teacher, and will herself be doing pupil teaching this year. She is the first of our own girls to qualify in this way.”⁴⁹³ This, in the Superintendent’s view was worth mentioning since fellow European missionaries had argued the need for native agency amongst women instead of being “porridge-coolers and child-bearers.” The success of this class that wrote the government’s Std IV examination occasioned the comment that the “head teacher, Jameson Lupunga is to be congratulated on the success of his pupils.”⁴⁹⁴ Following the initiative to establish the Boys’ Boarding school at Lambaland, the same report further reported, interestingly, about a new endeavour for native girls. This was a Girls’ Boarding School, also in Lambaland. But this project was in its infancy, as “There is not much to report in this connection. [Nevertheless] the project has been sanctioned by the Executive but was, perforce, in abeyance during Miss Bellin’s furlough.”⁴⁹⁵

Day schools in other mission fields continued to make progress. In Kaffraria, for example, “Two new government grants were received during the year, one for Tshabo and the other for Ncera; both these are now three teacher schools. Our Missionary now disburses over £900 per year in teachers’ salaries on behalf of the Provincial Administration. Two private schools were opened during the year, making three in all. Two of the teachers are supported by the people themselves.”⁴⁹⁶ Affirming the missionary purpose of the connection between a church and a school, the *Report* further mentioned: “After many efforts a Church site has been secured at Mdizeni in place of one lost years ago. This is a progressive location with a large population. A school has already been started.”⁴⁹⁷ Miss Doke, while reporting on Lambaland, on behalf of Rev Rendall, Superintendent of the field, who was on furlough, wrote in affirming the mission agency that taught the native children: “Three large schools continue their work and others will be started when Mr Rendall returns.”⁴⁹⁸ She added, “The schools are evangelising agencies since the people cannot study the Scriptures for themselves unless they can read or their children read to them.”⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹² Ibid., p. 35.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 17.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

While in some fields, Kafulafuta in particular, the missionaries saw to it that they would actively participate in the formation of Christian teachers, in other fields there was frustration about not having Christian teachers in these day schools. For example, in Kaffraria, the Superintendent, Rev Pape, reported that the “chief difficulty is to find converted teachers and Mr Peinke asks the earnest prayers of God’s people in this matter.”⁵⁰⁰ Despite this fact, Rev Pape as “an interesting part of the work” reported on the day schools.⁵⁰¹ Along the same lines, at Lambaland, among the Lamba people, “there is growing interest in education and a corresponding demand for schools.”⁵⁰² Further, according to Miss Doke, the “Government welcomes missionary control of schools and is sympathetic towards the SABMS.”⁵⁰³ Such a report by Miss Doke is surprising given that at Fiwale Hill, which is another part of Lambaland, Rev Rendall was already reporting on the complaints by fellow European missionaries that the government would oversee the day-to-day running of these schools, including however, the handing over of the Boys’ Boarding School to the government.

In the same *Report*, Miss Bellin urging the Baptists to advance into this “territory” before other denominations did so, also urged the “need for more trained workers and [warned] us that if we cannot take advantage of present opportunities they will be lost to the Romanists and the Adventists.”⁵⁰⁴ In urging the SABMS Committee not to turn down her request, thus causing frustration in the mission field, she further wrote, “Of course all Christians in full time work know the sense of failure and frustration, and it will be so as long as Christendom spends its money on luxuries and ‘frill’ at the expense of God’s work.”⁵⁰⁵ To strengthen her argument, Miss Bellin, “whose good deal of time is taken up by supervision of school work, [and] is often on treks for weeks at a time,”⁵⁰⁶ added the following pertaining to the ten centres she oversaw in which these schools were located: “Because of their trustworthiness and their ability in actual teaching some of our faithful workers have been given higher Government recognition than they were entitled to on their slender academic attainment. There are now approximately 1,000 names on the school rolls

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 18.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 25.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

and an average attendance of 720 scholars.”⁵⁰⁷

It ought to be noted that the building of a new day school in an “unoccupied” site went along with the acquiring of the same site as an SABMS property.⁵⁰⁸ This also applied to the founding and the building of a new church (building). In Kaffraria, at Mamate, where a new site “has been occupied and a building erected,”⁵⁰⁹ school attendance grew to the extent that the building was found to be “too small to accommodate the 80 children attending the day school.”⁵¹⁰ In total in Kaffraria during 1947 there were “six Government schools, with 13 teachers and 600 scholars.”⁵¹¹ The SABMS now have an interest in three united schools, the third being the United Higher Mission School at Bedford, part of which is housed in our building.”⁵¹² Regarding salaries, “over £1,000 have been disbursed on behalf of the Government in teachers’ salaries and cost of living allowances.”⁵¹³ The Feeding Scheme, which the Kaffraria field adopted following the lead by the Transvaal, was however, reported to “have continued to be a source of anxiety and has entailed much work.”⁵¹⁴ This is because the “first Government grant for 1947 was [only] received in May, though feeding had been resumed in January.”⁵¹⁵

In the Transkei, as in other fields, the “supervision of Day Schools makes heavy demands upon the Missionary. There are now nine Government aided schools in the Transkeian area, and the Missionary last year disbursed £3,322, on behalf of the Educational Authority, over £1,000 more than in the previous twelve months.”⁵¹⁶ In addition, “Two new School grants have been secured.”⁵¹⁷ But, “As in other fields, the great need is for Christian teachers, men and women who will seek to win their pupils for Christ as well as teach them the rudiments of secular education.”⁵¹⁸

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ See also Chapter 8 the discussion about the SABMS’s lands.

⁵⁰⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 42.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 43-44.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

At Molepo Location, in Pietersburg, Transvaal, the school building initiated by Chief Molepo and his people, “which for several years we tried to build up,”⁵¹⁹ was finally erected when the “Chief and his people decided to build according to Government requirements and asked our Missionary to help them. The building has been completed and paid for by the Chief and his people, at a cost of £454, plus much free [native] labour.”⁵²⁰ The opening day was, according to Rev Eriksson, “a great occasion.”⁵²¹ Reflecting on the aspect that the school was finally opened in 1947 (eleven years since the intent of the chief and the people to build was made known but delayed with one of the most recent reasons being that the building was not according to government plans), raises the issue of the “architectural economics,” which were also permeated by the politics of dispossession. In other words, this does not mean that the chief and his people did not know how to build, but that their indigenous knowledge of constructing houses and other forms of buildings was in the eyes of the South African (and European only) government at the least not suitable, and at the worst, not to be considered as buildings at all.⁵²² Further, this refusal does also imply that indigenous native buildings would not be suitable to house the European kind of education that these schools were propagating. This further meant that the natives have to have the building plan approved by the European authorities and then purchase the required material, thus unavoidably having to participate in the Europeans’ pound economy.

Reporting further on this new school in Chief Molepo’s territory, the Superintendent, Rev Eriksson wrote: “The Assistant Native Commissioner and the Schools Inspector for the district were both present and addressed a company of at least 1,000.”⁵²³ Singularly, “They expressed pleasure and surprise to find such an up-to-date brick building out in the wilds, with iron roof and veranda and three large class rooms to accommodate 165 children. There are already 220 children enrolled.”⁵²⁴ To complete this building, “the women carried the bricks on their heads for nearly two miles from the river bank where they were made.”⁵²⁵ With respect to the occasion, the “Native Commissioner spoke sympathetically and promised to do all he could to assist them,

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

⁵²² See also Chapter 2, in particular, the discussion about the founding and establishment of Grahamstown.

⁵²³ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 48.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*

seeing they themselves had done so much.”⁵²⁶ The School Inspector, “the son of a Missionary, pleased the people greatly as he spoke to them in their language.”⁵²⁷ The *Report*, quoting Rev Eriksson, recorded “When the officials were invited to dine and were served with a lovely roasted fowl, and each of them was presented with a leg of mutton to take home to his wife, they could scarcely believe their own eyes.”⁵²⁸ Not forgetting the spiritual aspect that this school the missionaries hoped this school would inculcate, the SABMS Committee added, “We are fortunate in being able to send a young man of the people’s own tribe, trained at Orlando [sic], to take charge of the spiritual work that was begun many years ago by the late Rev Jonas Maboia who died on his knees, with his wife’s arms about him.”⁵²⁹

The same year, 1947, in the Lambaland field, there were “14 schools with an enrolment of 1,308 scholars and an average attendance of 1,038. The average enrolment per school is 94, and the average attendance 74.”⁵³⁰ For the last two years, 1948 and 1949 respectively of this history of the SABMS’s day schools, not much activity or unusual news was reported except for the 1949 “complaint” by the missionaries, once again concerning the issue whether the government should assume responsibility for their schools, as will be discussed later. Affirming the connection between the school and the church, the Superintendent of Lambaland, Rev Rendall, wrote in 1948: “An illiterate Church will never become a strong one, and so Day Schools have come to stay, though they occupy much of the time of the Missionaries.”⁵³¹ (This is the same Rendall who the year before had complained, together with other missionaries, that these schools were a burden to the missionaries.) Substantiating his argument, Rev Rendall added, “Thirty-two boys and girls passed standard IV this year, some of whom have gone for further training and some become Pupil Teachers in our own Schools. It is the hope of the Missionaries that these facilities will make for a more enlightened Church and better educated Evangelists.”⁵³²

In Pondoland, the Superintendent, Rev Payn, while reporting on the success that ‘Mbongweni

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., p. 54.

⁵³¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1947-1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 47.

⁵³² Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[School] has been graded a Higher Mission School,"⁵³³ and that, "There is now only one private school on the whole of the field,"⁵³⁴ did not conclude without mentioning that, "This however is not without its problems."⁵³⁵ He added, "as necessary as the Day schools are, they often present a grave menace to the spiritual work, as it is most difficult to obtain the right kind of teachers. It is hoped the provision of a high school may help in some measure to solve this problem."⁵³⁶ Keeping in mind Miss Bellin's earlier plea that the SABMS should not delay in opening schools in new native residential areas in the Transvaal, the Superintendent, Rev Eriksson reported, however, that "Our Society, for various reasons, was unable to take its place with others in the educational field in the Transvaal and so we lost many children to other denominations besides languishing for want of efficient teachers and well trained [native] ministers."⁵³⁷ While the first day school in the Transvaal "was opened as late as 1940, known as Law Palmer Memorial, Orlando, [now] we have 3 Government aided and 6 Private Schools with 23 teachers and 1,000 pupils. The Department in Natal and Transvaal have paid in grants £2,356 this year – such is the rapid growth of this side of our work."⁵³⁸ Over and above this, it was for Rev Eriksson, "gratifying to report that a number of boys who are borders at the Law Palmer Memorial have accepted the Saviour and are now finding joy in teaching and interpreting in the Sunday Schools."⁵³⁹

In the Transkei, the SABMS continued, "to have interest in 3 united Mission schools."⁵⁴⁰ Besides the 7 day schools which were wholly supported by the Provincial Administration, there were also the "private single-teacher schools at Waterfalls and Nkobongo [about which in] the former case the Society pays the Teacher's salary, and in the latter the people themselves provide the money."⁵⁴¹ Also to note is that some of the schools that the SABMS founded became government schools. For example, "One new school grant has been received, as a result of which the school at Mamata is now a Government institution."⁵⁴²

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*

In 1949, Rev Rendall, Superintendent of Lambaland again mentioned the strain the day schools were having on the missionaries, particularly European missionaries. He reported, "Our Missionaries in Lambaland reckon that this side of Missionary endeavour occupies possibly 60% of the time of most of the Missionaries, bringing with it more trouble than all the other work put together, and yet has to be done."⁵⁴³ Somewhat contradicting the earlier argument of the "ideal" complementary relation between Sunday schools and day schools, he added, "Now that compulsory attendance is being enforced it is seriously affecting the attendance of the Sunday Schools, and the comparatively little spiritual result accruing from all this effort is causing many Evangelical Missions to give serious thought to the percentage of time given to Educational work and its little value to spiritual results."⁵⁴⁴ Thus, "There is a definite move in Northern Rhodesia towards the taking over by the Government of all Primary Education, and if this materialises, then it may be God's way of easing the burden at present so heavily upon Missionaries."⁵⁴⁵

Rev Rendall's argument is similar to that espoused by the Roman Catholic Dominican provincial, Basilius Schaab, who when visiting South Africa in 1937, "proposed to close down [Dutch Dominicans friars'] mission schools which were running at a loss."⁵⁴⁶ Leo Klerlein, the vicar apostolic, fully supported this suggestion. Some time after the visitation, he announced his intention of closing the mission schools⁵⁴⁷ of Winburg, Heilbron and Viljoenskroon before the beginning of the 1938 school year. They would be "amalgamated," that is, entrusted to the care of the Orange Free State Department of Education, while retaining at least a Catholic teacher who would be in charge of religious education.⁵⁴⁸ The news caused great consternation among the Dutch friars, who were not prepared to give up their schools. Finally, after their meeting with the general inspector for Bantu education in the Orange Free State, "a Mr Kuschke, who spoke of a possible subsidy to the Catholic schools, ... it was agreed to open the school for another year, on

⁵⁴³ SABMS Annual Report for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 63.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 63-64.

⁵⁴⁶ Denis, P. (1998). *The Dominican Friars in South Africa: A Social History (1577-1990)*. Leiden: Brill, p. 165.

⁵⁴⁷ The provincial, Basilius Schaab, had at first intended to propose to the provincial council the closure of the Dominicans' Dutch mission. The friars did not seem to have voiced any protest, but the apostolic delegate did. He strongly challenged the provincial's views, arguing that one does not run a mission like an accountant but rather puts one's trust in God and carries on the work. All missions, he added, faced similar difficulties. At a special meeting of the provincial council during the provincial's stay in Europe, in August 1938, the apostolic delegate's argument won the day (Ibid., p. 164). His courage, without doubt, inspired the Dominican friars' resistance to the closure of the mission school, though the provincial had recommended this.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

condition that the government would subsidise at least one teacher.”⁵⁴⁹ Later, with substantial backing donation from the St Peter Clavier Missionary Society, the mission schools survived until the 1950s.⁵⁵⁰

Developing his argument further concerning the lack of spiritual formation at government schools, Rev Rendall wrote: “Secondary School education is the cause for most concern, as any boys or girls who desire to equip themselves as Teachers have to be sent to Government institutions with results which are not the best from the spiritual standpoint. A proposition is being considered of establishing a Secondary School under Protestant management and the Executive is carefully considering what part it may be possible for our Society to take in this venture.”⁵⁵¹ Further, given that there were 14 schools, there was also “the difficulty of obtaining suitable and qualified teachers [which] has prevented the opening of new schools during the year.”⁵⁵² As for the SABMS’s Boys’ Boarding School at Fiwale Hill, “56 boys have been cared for,”⁵⁵³ while “Miss Bellin has had 15 girls at Kafulafuta, [in the Girls Boarding School].”⁵⁵⁴ In an attempt “to improve the spiritual results from these schools, a Bible School was [a great] help especially for Teachers, and although there was much opposition the results were gratifying.”⁵⁵⁵

Echoing Rev Rendall’s concern that schools were consuming much of the missionaries’ time, Rev Payn, Superintendent of the Natal field, which at this period included Pondoland, East Griqualand and Alfred County, wrote: “The school feeding scheme is a colossal undertaking, but it may interest our people to know that our Government aided schools come under a Kokstad Central Committee for the purpose of this scheme, providing for 85,000 children in 641 schools, at a cost of £100,000.”⁵⁵⁶ In the same field, “£3,530 was received in Government grants for aided schools, well over a thousand pounds more than was received last year, thus showing signs of improvement in our [SABMS] schools as well as of advance.”⁵⁵⁷ Finally, in the Transkei, where there are “11 Day Schools and 25 Teachers for which £5,182 was received in Government grants,

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵⁵¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1948-1949, in *BU Handbook for 1949-1950*, p. 64.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

the highest of any of our fields, [there] are four unaided Schools supported by the Society.”⁵⁵⁸ Unfortunately, “We do not fully estimate the enormous amount of work which this involves for the Superintendent and the portion of his time which this occupies.”⁵⁵⁹

7.6. Revision of the BU Constitution

While between the periods 1928 to 1949, the SABMS missionaries and the native Christians were preoccupied with native education: theological and the day and Sunday schools, among the Europeans the same period was characterised by the consolidation of the BU’s procedures and its finances. This, no doubt, may leave the reader wondering if this is the same Baptist Church in South Africa that was discussed earlier on in the chapter. But there can be no doubt that this is the same church, yet with dual administration, dual fellowship and dual experiences, as the following discussion demonstrates.

Since the inception of the BU in 1877, its founding constitution of the same year had remained the same guiding model⁵⁶⁰ throughout its history. The main changes and additions to this constitution were the revision of its by-laws. Prior to 1928, the main revisions of this constitution were those: in 1893, 1921 and 1925. Briefly, in 1893, the revised bye-laws attended to matters such as: membership subscriptions, rights of members, operations and special meeting, accounts, funds, publishing, notices of motion and committees.⁵⁶¹ In 1921, the revised BU Constitution included amendments in clauses relating to property, the ratio of representation [of whom] in the Assembly, B.W.A’s representation on the BU Executive, the arbitration process and the definition of district associations.⁵⁶² And in 1925, when the constitution was again revised, this time it incorporated “the new conditions introduced under the new Assembly procedure.”⁵⁶³

Following the 1925 revision, in 1930 during the BU Assembly, two motions were put forward. Firstly, “To amend Clause VI, 1(b) of the Constitution to read, Churches of 150 members or less

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ See Chapter 2.

⁵⁶¹ See Minutes of 1893 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1893-1894*, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁶² See Minutes of 1921 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1921-1922*, pp. 49-53.

⁵⁶³ Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1925-1926*, p. 27

may send one delegate, and Churches with a membership over 150, two delegates.”⁵⁶⁴ Secondly, “That the recommendation of the Executive regarding the Registration fee of delegates be referred back to the Executive with a request that it be sent to the Churches along with the ‘Notice of Motion’ [pertaining to Clause VI, 1(b)] regarding representation, and that they be asked to notify the General Secretary of their opinion as soon as possible.”⁵⁶⁵ The following year, 1931, the Assembly put forward another motion. This time, “That Rule V of the Constitution be amended to read ‘The Union shall act by its Assembly through the joint Executive Committee in respect of Clauses 1 to 8 of Rule IV, and through the Trustees of the Union in respect of Clauses 9, 10, and 11 of Rule IV of the Constitution.’”⁵⁶⁶ In the same assembly, a motion regarding the SABMS was also passed. It read, “That Rule 7 of the Constitution of the SA Baptist Missionary Society be amended to read ‘The Society shall act by its General Meeting, through its Committee, except that in matters affecting property referred to in Rules 3 and 4 they shall act through the Trustees of the Missionary Society.’ The rest of the present Rule 7 would be Rule 8, beginning ‘The Committee shall consist of the following: - (a) Chairman, who shall be the President of the Baptist Union, etc.’”⁵⁶⁷ These trustees were the chairman of the SABMS who was also, as indicated, the president of the BU, and the treasurer and secretary of the BU.

In the following year, 1933, for example, as had happened in previous years, the president of the BU, this time the Rev W. H. Doke, who by his office was also chairman of the SABMS, became one of the trustees of the SABMS. The other trustees were the treasurer (Mr A. W. Davis) and the secretary (Rev H. Guyton), who, were “duly elected to their respective offices, [and would] be the Trustees of the South African Baptist Missionary Society in accordance with Rule IV of the Constitution.”⁵⁶⁸ At the same Assembly, the BU Executive put indicated: “Notice is hereby given that at the next Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union a resolution will be submitted for the present Constitution and By-Laws of the Baptist Union of South Africa, and of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, the draft Constitutions and By-Laws as now laying upon the table, or as may be by the Assembly duly amended.”⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁴ Minutes of 1930 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 28.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁶ Minutes of 1931 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 31.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Minutes of 1932 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 29.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 33.

In order to prepare the European churches regarding this motion, the next assembly resolved, "That copies of the above draft Constitutions be sent to each Church within three months and that each Church be requested to submit their criticisms to the Secretary of the Union before the 31st of May 1933, in order that the same may be collated and prepared for presentation to the next assembly."⁵⁷⁰ Such a practice was never carried out for the native churches when the Bantu Baptist Church (BBC) was formed.⁵⁷¹ The formation of the BBC, was rather, a decision made by the European Superintendents as deemed best for the thousands of native Christians. Reporting on the progress made regarding this draft Constitution, for the 1934 assembly, the BU Executive observed, "Much time was devoted in Executive to the consideration of the revised Constitution and By-Laws of the union, and the result of these deliberations will be submitted to this Assembly for approval and acceptance."⁵⁷² In addition, "A Model Trust Deed has been prepared for publication in the Handbook for the guidance of Churches in the drafting of their Trust Deeds."⁵⁷³

Concerning the revised BU Constitution, in particular matters of finance two by-laws are relevant in this regard. Firstly, By-Law No. 8 (Finance), in terms of which, "The following minimum affiliation fees shall be payable annually to the Treasurer of the [Baptist] Union: £2.2.0 by each Church, £2.2.0 by each Association, [and] £2.2.0 by each Personal Member."⁵⁷⁴ These affiliation fees "shall become due and payable on or before the 31st day of December in each year, and any member for the [Baptist] Union whose affiliation fees are in arrear for more than one year may be removed by the Executive from the register of members. The name of any member in arrear shall be reported to the Executive."⁵⁷⁵ The rather harsh wording of this by-law proves in no uncertain terms the business mindedness in which the BU ran its affairs, and the accompanying penalties for churches that did not comply.

To cover the costs of the annual assemblies, "A registration fee of 10/-per member of Assembly, except Delegates and Personal Members from the entertaining Church or Churches, shall be paid

⁵⁷⁰ Minutes of 1932 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 33.

⁵⁷¹ See Chapter 5.

⁵⁷² Joint Executive Reports for 1932-1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 4.

⁵⁷³ Ibid. See also Volume Three (Appendices); the document entitled: A Model Trust Deed (1933).

⁵⁷⁴ Constitution and By-Laws of the Baptist Union of South Africa, as revised and adopted at the Annual Assembly held in Durban, 20th September, 1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 42.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

to the General Secretary of the [Baptist] Union prior to the attendance at each Assembly.”⁵⁷⁶ This registration fee was to be “paid to the Church or Churches entertaining the Assembly as a contribution towards the expense thereof.”⁵⁷⁷ In addition, “It is desired and expected that every Church and Association shall contribute voluntarily an annual sum towards the general revenue of the [Baptist] Union and shall notify the Assembly of such sum either through its delegation or otherwise.”⁵⁷⁸ Further, and, as had been the practice of the BU since its inception, “The Treasurer is hereby authorised to pay to each member of the Executive, excluding Association nominees, attending Executive meetings other than those held in conjunction with Assemblies a sum equivalent to a second class return railway fare (concession if available) from his place of residence to the place of meeting, and further to pay any authorised fares and expenses of any sub-Committee appointed by the Executive.”⁵⁷⁹ The “his” is significant as no woman had ever been appointed to the BU Executive since its inception.⁵⁸⁰

In order to administer these funds and the other funds that the BU might receive, the second by-law regarding the BU’s finances was drawn up: By-Law No. 9 (Trust Fund). This Trust Fund, according to the BU Constitution, “shall be administered by the Executive under the name or title of the BAPTIST UNION SUSTENTATION AND TRUST FUND.”⁵⁸¹ As discussed in the previous chapter the BU, including the SABMS, had invested most of their funds in the government and municipal loans, but this was now made mandatory. According to the clause, “Unless otherwise expressly directed by the creator of any trust the Executive shall invest the trust fund to the best advantage, either in Government or Municipal Stocks of the Union of South Africa or of any British possession and Dominion in South Africa or on fixed deposit in any well accredited Bank or Building Society operating in South Africa or on first mortgage of immovable urban property situate[d] in South Africa.”⁵⁸² This meant that the BU was no longer limited only to investing in government and municipal loans (stocks) of the Union of South Africa, but also, if

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁰ See Chapter 2, on the role European women were expected to play, in an ideal environment.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.* Regarding the Pension Fund, By-Law No. 10: Baptist Union Pension Fund read as follows, “The Baptist Union Pension Fund established by the Union in October, 1910, shall be managed in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution thereof” (*Ibid.*, p. 43.). As for the SABMS, By-Law No. 11: South African Baptist Missionary Society read: “The South African Baptist Missionary Society established by the Union in the year 1892 shall be managed in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution thereof.” (*Ibid.*).

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

there were any, to invest in the same of the "British possession or Dominion in South Africa."⁵⁸³ Such a specific insertion in this by-law was purposely done, given the changing political landscape of South Africa from an English to an Afrikaner-led country.⁵⁸⁴

In this by-law, the BU had specific clauses that catered for any loans to European churches. Firstly, "The Executive shall not loan money to Churches for current fund purposes."⁵⁸⁵ Secondly, "It shall be a condition of all loans on mortgage that the capital shall be repaid either monthly, quarterly, half-yearly or annually so as to redeem the loan in any period not exceeding ten years unless the Executive specifically otherwise determine."⁵⁸⁶ Lastly, "Unless otherwise provided by the creator of any trust the income from the Trust fund shall be devoted to the general expenses of the Union."⁵⁸⁷ Whatever option was selected, "Pending investment, capital moneys shall be lodged to the credit of the Trust fund at such Bank or Building Society as the Executive may determine."⁵⁸⁸ In addition, "Annual statements of account together with a balance sheet duly certified and audited shall be presented to the Executive by the Treasurer of the Trust Fund and submitted by the Executive to the Assembly."⁵⁸⁹

The inclusion of these by-laws developed three specific objectives that addressed the BU's property, role of trustees and the investment of funds. These objectives were: "To receive, purchase, hold, hypothecate, sell, donate, lease, exchange and partition movable and immovable property; To act as Trustees for any Church or Association whether established or to be established, [and] To invest any funds of the Union in such manner as may be prescribed by By-Law."⁵⁹⁰ Moreover, the administration of the BU's funds in particular was meant "To make provision for retiring and relief allowances for its Ministers and Missionaries and their wives or

⁵⁸³ Ibid., p. 43.

⁵⁸⁴ In the recent decades prior to 1933, the political landscape had evolved from self-governing colonies (Cape Colony, Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and Natal) from 1872-1910 to the Union of South Africa, established in 1910. This Union, an Afrikaner-led government, had the following prime-ministers: General Louis Botha, May 31, 1910-August 27, 1919; General Jan Christiaan Smuts, September 3, 1919 – June 29, 1924; and General James Barry Munnik Hertzog, June 30, 1924 – March 30, 1933 (Pact Ministry) (Walker, E. A. *Op. Cit.*, pp. xix-xxiii.).

⁵⁸⁵ Constitution and By-Laws of the Baptist Union of South Africa, as revised and adopted at the Annual Assembly held in Durban, 20th September, 1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934., p. 43.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 34. In addition, according to By-Law No. 10 (Union Assets), "All property and other assets of the Union and of the Trust Fund including investments shall be held by the Trustees of the Union and be registered in their name."

widows,”⁵⁹¹ and “To provide for Ministerial Education and to control admission to and deletion from the Union’s list of accredited Ministers.”⁵⁹²

While every efforts was made to ensure that the education of European ministers was adequately catered for, in 1936, during the BU Assembly it was pointed out that the Ministerial Education Committee for European ministers, under the chairmanship of Dr Ennals,⁵⁹³ “have from time to time given the Executive cause for grave concern.”⁵⁹⁴ That is, “While two students, Mr H. H. Morgan ... and Mr D. J. Kunz, have done good work and practically completed the courses set, the majority of those under the guidance of the Committee have, apparently, made little serious attempt to write examinations notwithstanding an urgent letter which was sent to certain Student-Ministers some time ago at the Executive’s special request.”⁵⁹⁵ As a result of this, the BU Executive resolved that, “The [Baptist] Union will have to consider very carefully indeed whether recognition shall be given to men without some definite pledge to fulfill the conditions laid down in the [Baptist] Union’s own regulations.”⁵⁹⁶ Of the students concerned, “six have not written a single examination during the year and three have written one examination only.”⁵⁹⁷ As a result, “The Committee is deeply disturbed at the prospect of a largely untrained Baptist Ministry and the Executive earnestly calls the attention of all concerned to the seriousness of the position.”⁵⁹⁸

Following this report, the Assembly resolved in the same year as follows:

Fully recognising the primary importance of the spiritual character and equipment that have always been vital to the Christian Ministry, but being also convinced that, for the effective maintenance of a pastorate of the [European] Baptist order under modern conditions, there must be adequate equipment on the intellectual side, developed by habits of systematic study, the Assembly hereby assures the Executive of its wholehearted support in all legitimate efforts to safeguard the door of entrance into the [European] Baptist Ministry, and in its policy of requiring non-collegiate candidates for ministerial recognition to pass, within a specified time limit and at specified intervals,

(Ibid., p. 35.).

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ This is the same Ennals who was instrumental in the formation and running of the Ennals Institute.

⁵⁹⁴ Joint Executive Reports for 1935-1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 10.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

examinations set by the Ministerial Education Committee under the direction of the Executive.⁵⁹⁹

Further, to mark the denomination's sense of the importance of this matter for the future effectiveness of the Baptist witness in South Africa, and in order to strengthen the hands of those to whom the Assembly delegated administrative responsibility, the assembly resolved that the following, was "an Assembly instruction to the Executive."⁶⁰⁰ Firstly, "That, before a candidate's name is placed upon the Baptist Union's list of Student Ministers, he be required to signify, in writing, his acceptance of the Baptist Union regulations in regard to Ministerial training and recognition, and his intention to fulfill the conditions contained therein."⁶⁰¹ Secondly, "That the Executive, as the administrative body of the Baptist Union, do not stand sponsor to the Government (in respect of appointments of Marriage Officers, Railway Concessions, etc.) for candidates for the Baptist Ministry, or Student Ministers, who have not given the undertaking indicated above."⁶⁰² Thirdly, "That the Executive have the right to withdraw any recommendation made to the Government, on behalf of the Baptist Union, in the respect of any Student Minister who does not fulfill the conditions upon which his name was placed on the Baptist Union list."⁶⁰³ Lastly, "That, before making any grant from the Baptist Union Funds, the Executive requires the Church applying for such grant to signify, in writing, its acceptance of the Baptist Union's regulations for ministerial training and recognition as applying to any Student Minister serving, or called to serve, as its Pastor."⁶⁰⁴

In order to make room for exceptional cases that might be covered by these four resolutions, the following year's (1937) assembly resolved:

Notwithstanding the provisions of the foregoing clauses, the Assembly may on the recommendation of the Executive grant probationary recognition or full recognition, at its discretion, in exceptional circumstances to any Minister, Missionary or [European] Evangelist, called with the approval of the Executive to the pastorate of a Church affiliated with the Union, or entering the service of a Missionary Society, after such years (not less than six) of service and experience outside the sphere of the Union's jurisdiction as shall, in the judgement of the Assembly, fit him for such recognition

⁵⁹⁹ Minutes of 1936 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 58. See also Volume Three (Appendices); the document entitled: Ministerial Education (1936).

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

apart from the tests specified in section 2, clauses (a) and (b), of these regulations.⁶⁰⁵

In comparison with this, there were native ministers on a probation for more than ten years.⁶⁰⁶ Further, during the BU Assembly of 1938, "the Constitution and By-Laws were amended to regularise the position of [European] Student Ministers as members of the Assembly."⁶⁰⁷ The BU Constitution in the years following it remained as it was. The only amendment was By-Law No. 8 (Finance), in 1943. The five clauses remained as they were, except clause (b) which was to read: "The financial year shall be from July 1st to June 30th, and all membership fees shall become payable before the 31st day of December in each year, and any member of the Union whose membership fees are in arrear for more than one year may be removed by the Executive from the register of members. The name of any member in arrear shall be reported to the Executive."⁶⁰⁸ Inasmuch as European Baptist ministry was made to be financially rewarding, and its intellectual side safeguarded, in 1945, a new resolution was to be passed, through which the inviting church could be subsidised by the BU for the removal expenses of a new minister,⁶⁰⁹ another benefit among the many benefits the European ministers and missionaries enjoyed.⁶¹⁰

7.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, the nature of race-related finance matters in the Baptist Church of South Africa was seen to be another form of discrimination, which played itself out in the form of two opposing contrasts, characterised by two realities within the Baptist Church of South Africa. These realities were in the form of ministerial training and the intertwined day and Sunday school education. Ministerial training, like day and Sunday school education, was an initiative by the European missionaries. The discrimination was in the form of the raising of money for the benefit of the natives, while the very natives in whose name the money was raised, were not allowed to participate in how and for what purposes this money was obtained. It was no doubt the Europeans who raised the money for the Ennals Institution, the first native ministers' training

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁵ Minutes of 1937 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 61. This new clause was to follow the last of the four clauses discussed above.

⁶⁰⁶ See Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, respectively.

⁶⁰⁷ Minutes of 1938 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 63.

⁶⁰⁸ Minutes of 1944 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 73.

⁶⁰⁹ See Chapter 9.

institution. But as with any other institutions which they established - ostensibly for the benefit of the natives - there were undoubtedly accompanying benefits, in this case, financial ones, for the Europeans missionaries, among others. For example, in 1928, Dr Ennals travelled overseas to raise money "for the provision of training and education for our native workers."⁶¹¹ Two years later, the institute at Berlin was founded, named the Ennals Institute. Further, in 1945 when the decision was reached to move the institute to East London, this decision was reached only after consultation with Dr Ennals. It was not the first time that he had had to be consulted about the running of the same.

The second discrimination was found in the conditions of study and accommodation to which native ministers were subjected in comparison to those of their white counterparts. That is, on the one hand, the Ministerial Education Committee for European students resolved in 1936 that "Where possible [European] Students shall be urged during their first year to attend University Classes, or to take University Correspondence courses, in English, Afrikaans, Logic and Psychology"⁶¹² and that this committee shall "submit regular reports to the Executive regarding the progress made by Students in their studies."⁶¹³ On the other hand, teaching at the Ennals Institute, by 1944, 14 years since its inception, had been carried on "without a library for the use of students."⁶¹⁴ To ameliorate the situation, the SABMS deputation proposed in the same year that given the "paucity of the Native ministers' libraries it would be an excellent thing if every student successfully completing the ministerial course at the Institute were to be presented with a few books by the Society."⁶¹⁵

The third discrimination between the native and European ministerial students regarded their study fees. At the Ennals Institute, no tuition fees were payable by "the students [who] are expected to contribute towards their board."⁶¹⁶ But, "This is done, in part, at least, by their growing a certain amount of food on the plots under cultivation."⁶¹⁷ For the European ministerial students however, the BU funds, through the BU Sustentation and Trust Fund were meant to "provide for

⁶¹⁰ See Chapter 6.

⁶¹¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1927-1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 9.

⁶¹² Minutes of 1936 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 63.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ Reports and Survey of Deputations to SABMS Fields in the Union of S.A., P. 29.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

Ministerial Education”⁶¹⁸ besides, among other things, controlling “admission to and deletion from the [Baptist] Union’s list of accredited Ministers.”⁶¹⁹ This situation was not limited to ministerial education, but was also evident in day school education. Besides the fact that there were many schools that the natives themselves raised money to build, they also had to use their very hands to build them, a situation hardly heard of in European day schools.

Fourthly, there was also a discrimination based on the remuneration of the races. Pertaining to this, the native Christians were constantly reminded as to who “their own workers are,” that is, the native ministers. But this factor should not, according to the BU and SABMS, take precedence over the remuneration of European missionaries. Concerning this, the executive of the SABMS wrote, “[Thus] the general policy of the S.A.B.M.S. should be, that each Field should be self supporting in all other respects other than the payments of the salaries and expenses of the European Missionaries.”⁶²⁰

Fifthly, while the SABMS, a European-led body, constantly stressed the importance of training native women through special courses for them either at the Ennals Institute or the Millard Institute, nothing was said about European women. It was hoped, through these special courses, that native women would be turned from being “child bearers and porridge coolers”⁶²¹ into mission agents.⁶²² This was not expected of European women, most of whom are only heard of in the BU records as organisers of refreshments during BU assemblies. But more intriguing about this contradiction is that the European SABMS’s women missionaries did not follow this traditional role that the average European Baptist women filled. The women missionaries of the SABMS, particularly those recorded as “Misses” in these BU records, assumed the role of the European male missionaries such as, for example, overseeing mission fields, being physically involved in the building of schools and churches and distributing the government’s grants to the day schools.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Constitution and By-Laws of the Baptist Union of South Africa, as revised and adopted at the Annual Assembly held in Durban, 20th September, 1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 34.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1935-1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 25.

⁶²¹ The concept “porridge coolers” refers to the cooling of the porridge before being served. In the context of black women who are also referred to as “child bearers,” it means these women had to cool off the porridge before serving it to the children. The common way to cool off the porridge was to blow off the heat in the porridge by blowing the wind from the mouth. The cooling off of the porridge does of course take time.

Sixthly, while Sunday schools in European churches meant a Bible lesson on Sunday for the young, among the natives Sunday school was not for only the young. There were also married couples who attended it, though they were taught by the young Europeans from the neighbouring towns, for whom doing this work was part of their responsibility as the “more favoured” race over the “backward” one. Further, one of the missionary roles that these Sunday schools played was to turn the native “children” into mission agents both in their homes and the day schools they attended. The teachers at these schools were not those whom the missionaries, whom the government had tasked to distribute their salaries, had hoped to appoint, as they were unwilling to become Sunday school teachers as well.

Lastly, one should mention the working conditions under which these ministers were going to work. It is hardly necessary to mention, again that in 1929, about the same time that Dr Ennals was raising money for the native institution, it was reported, on the one hand, that Rev W. E. Ostrich had suffered severely from illness and had been obliged to relinquish his work. And, “In view of his long service to the Baptist cause in the Transvaal a pension has been given him.”⁶²² On the other hand, according to the SABMS Committee, “our fund will not permit at present of making this a general rule.”⁶²³ As proof of where its priorities lay, three years later, the BU assembly clearly affirmed in its constitution that the funds from the BU Sustentation and Trust Fund were meant “To make provision for retiring and relief allowances for its [European] Ministers and Missionaries and their wives or widows.”⁶²⁴ Further, and worth emphasising, is that, the money of this Fund would be invested in “Government or Municipal Stocks of the Union of South Africa or of any British possession and Dominion in South Africa.”⁶²⁵ Or these funds should be in a “fixed deposit in any well accredited Bank or Building Society operating in South Africa or on first mortgage on immovable urban property situate[d] in South Africa.”⁶²⁶ It is evident that the natives had no stake in any of these funds, let alone being allowed to own property in the urban areas of South Africa. The BU’s investment in urban property leads us to the discussion on land ownership, in the next chapter. The chapter will further present the

⁶²² See earlier discussion and see also Chapter 9.

⁶²³ SABMS Annual Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 12.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Constitution and By-Laws of the Baptist Union of South Africa, as revised and adopted at the Annual Assembly held in Durban, 20th September, 1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 34.

⁶²⁶ Ibid., pp. 42-43.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

condition under which the native workers, post 1927, worked in contrast to the additional funds created for the BU and SABMS's European workers.

Chapter 8

The SABMS's land, a survey of native work and the BU's finances for European workers (1820-1944)

8.1. The SABMS acquisition of mission land

8.1.1. Background on S.A. Baptists and natives' land

Issues of land, another critical dimension of dependency, also characterized the nature of European-native relations in the Baptist Church of South Africa. Since 1820, the commencement of the period being researched, Europeans in the South African colonial frontier had preoccupied themselves with amassing as much as land as possible. Prior to 1820, when Britain permanently annexed the Cape in 1806 the Dutch farmers who had been granted land as freehold (loan farms) by the Dutch East India Company¹ had this benefit reviewed under English rule. As early as 1813 Sir John Cradock issued a proclamation intended to promote the conversion of unsatisfactory loan farm tenure into perpetual quitrent tenure. Under the new system, "each farm was to be properly surveyed at the expense of the occupant, and a diagram was to be registered in the deeds office ... [Even though] the process of the conversion of the tenure of the land already occupied was thus slow, ... no grants were thereafter made except on the new system, so that the greater part of the ground in the colony is held at the present as quitrent farms."² The Kaffir Wars – border conflicts between the Afrikaners and the Negro tribes – brought about confusion and the English refused to satisfy the land hunger of the Boers by annexing the Negro areas.³ Between 1835 and 1846, "ten thousand men, women and children left the Cape Province."⁴ The most important leaders were Hendrick Potgieter, Piet Retief and Andries Pretorius. Prior to their departure, Retief wrote the *Manifesto*,⁵ which outlined the reasons for leaving the Cape Province. This *Manifesto* was published in the *Grahamstown Journal*.⁶

¹ See Miller, D. L. C. (2000). *Land Title in South Africa*. Kenwyn: Juta, p. 4.

² Theal, G. M. (1908-1910). *History of South Africa from 1795 to 1875*. Vol. V. 4th Edition, p. 266, quoted in Miller, D. L. C. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 6-7.

³ Buskes, J. J. (1956). *South African Apartheid Policy: Unacceptable*. Transvaal: [S.A. Fellowship of Reconciliation], p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ See Hofmeyr, J. W., Millard, J. A., & Froneman, C. J. J. (1991). *History of the Church in South Africa: A Document Source Book*. Pretoria: UNISA, pp. 114-116. See also Randell, G & Randell, D. (1977). *We all lived here 1822-1977*. Queenstown: Queenstown Printing Company, pp. 10-11. In this work, the Randells provide among other short biographies, the biography of Piet Retief.

⁶ Lekhela, S. M. M. (1959). *An Historical Survey of Native Land Settlement in S.A. from 1902 to the passing of the Natives' Trust Land Act of 1936*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. [Unpublished Masters Thesis], p. 38. Lekhela quoted the following extracts from the *Manifesto*: "We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principle of liberty; but whilst we will take care that no one shall be in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master

With some Boers out of sight in the Cape Province, which was also the founding province of both European Baptist work and its mission amongst the natives, the 1828 Ordinance and other protective declarations for non-whites to obtain land “were no more than tokenism in the prevailing circumstances.”⁷ More significant still was the incapacity of the nineteenth century British administration to curtail or control the burgeoning and rapacious spread of white settlers through the subcontinent. It would appear that in relation to every indigenous group in the southern African region, the combination of British indifference and incompetence and the driven self-interest of the European settlers spelt disaster in respect of land. What was done for the Hottentots was too little too late. The welfare of the non-European people at the Cape was almost always dissociated from the critical question of land rights.

In order to have land within the colony, the non-European had to be a squatter or a member of a mission station. The single exception – a small one – was the Kat River settlement established in 1829, which provided some small farms for Hottentots along the frontier. Thus, British land policy at the Cape was considered as a regulatory service for the European.⁸

The most significant feature of the nineteenth century development of South Africa from the point of view of land rights, according to Miller, was the loss suffered by the Bantu people as a result of the expansion of white settlement following frontier conflict.⁹ Under this heading, Davenport and Hunt comment as follows: “White frontiers were advanced, not only as a consequence of the Difaane and the Great Trek, but as a result of wars fought between whites and the Xhosa, Tswana, Pedi, Zulu, Sotho, Ndebele and other tribes.”¹⁰

On this land discourse however, particularly concerning the tension between the Europeans and the Bantu, there is another view: “The right which the Hottentots had to supplant the Bushmen, the right which the Bantu had to supplant the Hottentots is the same right which Europeans had to supplant the Bantu. ... The Bantu have as much right to South Africa as the

and servant. We will not molest any people or deprive them of the smallest property.” In interpreting Retief’s publication, Lekhela argued, disappointingly, that: “This is evidence that the intentions of the Trekkers towards the Bantu tribes were peaceful.” Fortunately, Lekhela immediately regained his analytical senses by stating: “Conflicts between the Black and whites in the interior of South Africa could not however be long averted as events will show.”

⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

⁹ Miller, D. L. C. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁰ Davenport, T. R. H., & Hunt, K. S. (1974). *The Right to the Land*. Cape Town: David Philip, p. 10, quoted in Miller, D. L. C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

European population, but no more.”¹¹ Without hesitation, Brookes proposed, “Any argument on the land questions must recognize this principle.”¹² Theal, another like-minded scholar, popularized the myth of vacant land.¹³ In his monumental eleven volume *History of South Africa*, he traced the Bantu-speakers back to North Africa, and concluded that: “[there is] evidence to prove that Bantu-speakers arrived in South Africa relatively late, and therefore had no more right to land in the country than whites.”¹⁴ Evans accepted Brookes (1924) and Theal’s (1910) arguments in later (1934) stating that the “Europeans had settled into the areas where the Abantu had not penetrated, or where they were not permanently established, but they had also occupied a great deal of land elsewhere, regardless of any claims the Natives might have had upon it.”¹⁵

It was within this context that South African Baptists (Europeans) commenced with mission amongst the natives. Even though “recorded evidence” is that Baptist mission work amongst the natives had been started as early as 1856, by the German Baptists in Tshabo at Berlin, the first record of a South African Baptist purchase of land for mission among the natives was only in 1889. Three years earlier, in 1886, the BU president, Mr T. H. Grocott, in his presidential address to the BU Assembly commented: “While speaking of civilizing and Christianizing the heathen I may remark that, up to the present time, our Union has not attempted to extend its organization amongst the native races of this Colony.”¹⁶ This was because the Baptist society, unlike other missionary societies, had not “established” its work among the natives. Calling on the Baptists to rise up to the challenge, he added: “other bodies have for years nobly carried on this work – and we wish them God’s speed in their noble efforts to raise and civilize the heathen of this land.”¹⁷ The nature of the mission of these missionary bodies was such that, with the mission stations they established, they also

¹¹ Brookes, E. H. (1924). *The History of Native Policy in S.A.* Cape Town: Nasionale Pers, p. 330.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ See Crais’s argument in Chapter 1. Briefly this view is based on two notions of vacantness. The first is that vacancy refers to the fact of geographical emptiness in the Western legal denotation of land being “unoccupied or unused.” The second notion of vacantness, as an “elision” or “emptying” of the humanity of the African and the formulation of a set of negative stereotypes, was embedded in this creation of empirical “fact” – the observation of the apparent materiality of an empty land. Thus, the settlers on arrival in the colony had to organized space which they saw as empty.

¹⁴ Crais, C. C. “The Vacant Land: The Mythology of British Expansion in the Eastern Cape, South Africa.” In *Journal of Social History*. Vol. 25. No. 2. 1991, p. 267.

¹⁵ Evans, I. L. (1934). *Native Policy in Southern Africa: An Outline*. Cambridge: University Press, pp. 20-21.

¹⁶ Grocott, T. H. 1886. *Our Union*. An address delivered at the Ninth Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, September 6th, 1886, at King Williamstown, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 9.

¹⁷ Ibid.

attempted to acquire the land on which these stations were established.¹⁸ In many cases, however, according to Lagden, “the Missionaries claim that the assistance rendered by them to the Natives has given them rights either to a portion of the land in freehold or to a usufructuary interest over portions of the farms. Some of them claim servitudes over the grounds, which they wish to register against the titles. ... The Natives on their part claim to be entitled to the undivided portion of the ground, and they state that the servitude was signed by their Chief and a Headman without their authority.”¹⁹

In 1889, the BU Assembly decided: “In answer to Rev W. E. Kelly [of Johannesburg], who is anxious to secure plots of ground to the denomination for building sites, the Executive authorized him to get as many sites as he could, and to take the legal steps to secure such sites to the Executive, provided that this Union be not involved in any pecuniary liability.”²⁰ (It should be noted that this was the period immediately following the discovery of gold in the Johannesburg.) According to the *Lagden Report*,²¹ particularly in the Transvaal, the missionaries held great amounts of land titles, on behalf of the natives. This scramble for land presented itself not only in church lands, but also in commercial land, as discussed in Chapter 2.²²

Coming back to the Baptist Church, during the same assembly (1889), the following day, June 12th, Mr T. B. King – who had proposed the formation of the BU in 1877 – “wished his protest to be recorded on the minutes against the action of the Executive *in re* obtaining grants of land in the Transvaal, considering it a breach of our congregational principles.”²³ This objection should not give the impression that the Baptists were totally innocent in the acquisition of land, especially given the circumstances and the context under which the BU was formed.²⁴ The particular situation, of course, was in a town established as a result of the relocation of the native population.²⁵ While Mr King, on the one hand, criticized the BU’s acquisition of land for religious purposes, the same assembly during the same day’s morning

¹⁸ See Lagden, G. Y. (1904). *Report by the Commissioner for Native Affairs*. [Pretoria: Native Affairs Department.] See in particular, Appendix XIII: Questions Arising out of Land Purchase by Missionaries on behalf of Natives, p. 69.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1889-1890*, p. 29.

²¹ See Lagden, G. Y. (1904). *Report by the Commissioner for Native Affairs*. [Pretoria: Native Affairs Department.]

²² See in Chapter 2, the discussion on Frankel’s analysis.

²³ Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1889-1890*, p. 31.

²⁴ See Chapter 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

session read a letter from C. Henkel, Esq. "asking if the Union could not undertake Mission work in the unoccupied fields between the Kei and Natal."²⁶ Unoccupied fields, a term which meant an area in which there was no Baptist work further, implied that such space was to be occupied for the betterment of the morals of the natives.²⁷ Consequently, the assembly passed the resolution that the BU president "was [to be] requested to send a suitable reply to this very interesting communication."²⁸ Further, the assembly resolved, "That every Church connected with this Union be requested to make a collection (say once a year) on behalf of Mission work among the aborigines, and that the interest of the children in our [European] Sunday Schools be drawn to this work; the Thato [sic] Mission to have the first claim upon the proceeds of this collection."²⁹

In 1892, on the formation of the SABMS, Baptist missionary work among the natives was coordinated under this body. The same year, the BU Executive reported on the Bloemfontein field, about which it was "surprised to find that our brethren of the Congregational Union [CU] were also preparing to occupy that field."³⁰ The BU Executive "wrote to the Executive of C.U., remonstrating against what appeared like a rivalry."³¹ As a result, the CU's secretary replied, "pleading ignorance of our movement, and withdrawing from Bloemfontein in our favour."³² Pleased about these circumstances, the BU Executive further wrote: "The way being now clear, Mr Dogget came out and the Secretaries went to Bloemfontein to interview the friends there and commence the work. ... We were heartily received and generously helped by a whole host of friends in Bloemfontein, and the work was inaugurated under happiest circumstances."³³

²⁶ Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 31.

²⁷ See Chapter 4, the discussion on the Comaroffs' "moral geography."

²⁸ Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 31.

²⁹ Ibid. See also the discussion by Reid, D. A. (1976). *An Evaluation of the Policies of the South African Baptist Missionary Society prior to 1971*. Johannesburg: Baptist Theological College of Johannesburg. [Unpublished Dip. Theology Dissertation], pp. 43-57. His discussion of this monetary collection and the nature of the relationship between the European and black churches it lacks judgement. Basically, it lacks analysis. In introducing this discussion he stated that "in highlighting a divergence between the local church and the mission station, [Reid] is not pleading for an overall attitude of paternalism on the part of the local European congregation, nor of the missionary himself, but rather a sense of responsibility on the part of the European churches. ... The up and coming African Church needs a mother church to help it towards spiritual maturity (perhaps we should speak of maternalism rather than paternalism) and it is at this point partnership becomes the issue."

³⁰ BU Executive Report for 1891-1892, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 46.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

Two years later, in 1894, the SABMS had acquired two new and unique "lands." The first was the purchase of property at Kingwilliamstown, from the European churches. The thought "occurred to take it and make a missionary centre for the many natives who visit or live about the town."³⁴ This church unlike that of Tshabo, which was situated on a farm, being the only native mission station to date, was an old Wesleyan chapel, in Berkeley Street. About this purchase it was commented, "There was no time to lose, [as] others were willing to give more."³⁵ The second and controversial "land" the SABMS (including the BU) acquired, which the BU Executive reported as "of highest enthusiasm"³⁶ (its potential as a capital generating source was discussed in Chapter 6), was "the magnificent offer of the Premier, Hon. C. Rhodes, to us, through the President: Three large farms in Matebeland and Mashonaland for missionary work; two stands in each of the three townships, Fort Salisbury, Fort Charter, Fort Victoria."³⁷ Accompanying this magnificent offer was "a donation to the sum of £100, and the encouragement to hope for another £500 by the Chartered Company."³⁸ These three farms were "3,000 acres each, six stands in townships for Mission Churches and Parsonages."³⁹ It seemed however, that the BU was not at ease in accepting these farms, as the BU Executive reported: "there were fears that we are not strong enough [to accept the offer], but in the end it was decided to accept the offer on terms to be arranged."⁴⁰

Concerning these farms in Matebeleland and Mashonaland,⁴¹ a subcommittee⁴² "recommended that Mr Hughes and Mr Cross be asked to visit England as a deputation from the Missionary Society to interest the home churches in the enterprise [of mission in these lands] and collect funds."⁴³ Pertinent to note concerning these farms is the subcommittee's mention concerning the choice of this land that: "the Society be allowed to select the farms in any part of the two countries not previously secured by other persons, and the stands in the

³⁴ Notes on the Union Meetings of 1894, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 8.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid. See also Chapter 6, the discussion on the BU's administrative funds.

³⁹ Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 32.

⁴⁰ Notes on the Union Meetings of 1894, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 8.

⁴¹ These stands and farms "are liable to the ordinary quitrent and license. ... quite a nominal fee in each case, being in that of a farm £1 per annum of 1,000 acres, and for a stand 10/- month per stand." (Committee's Report in *re* Northern Missions: Annexure C, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 59.)

⁴² This subcommittee, appointed during the assembly, consisted of Revs L. Nuttall, J. Hughes, G. Eales, G. W. Cross, and Messrs J. George, E. E. Watkeys, A. Williams, H. Paul, and G. White. They were given the mandate by the assembly to "secure, survey and convey to the Baptist Union the gifts of land in Matebeleland and Mashonaland and to make arrangements for working the same." (Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 25.)

⁴³ Notes on the [Baptist] Union Meetings of 1894, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 9.

township not already taken by others [missionary societies].”⁴⁴ This land metaphor, as discussed, is based on the premise that as long as land has been neither settled nor demarcated by Europeans (settlers), such land is unoccupied. Reporting on their visit to England, the deputation wrote: “Unfortunately, misrepresentation of our cause had preceded us, and we were met with a good deal of opposition from various sources.”⁴⁵ Nevertheless, “Wherever we got a hearing we were kindly received, and though not a large sum has been obtained, we are almost surprised that, after all, so much was realized, when the difficulties are remembered.”⁴⁶ These lands were loaned⁴⁷ to the SABMS by the Chartered Company, and it was resolved, according to Dr Harris, a representative of the Chartered Company, that “In the event of the Society being unable to occupy the land given, Dr Harris promised that the Company would deal generously toward the Society with respect to the duration of the time during which possession might be entered upon.”⁴⁸

Although the BU (including the SABMS) received “gifts” of land from Rhodes, for example, and from other individuals and the government as will later be discussed, it also purchased land. In 1904, during the assembly, it was resolved, for example, “to effect a compromise with Mr Pearson for the sum of £30 in exchange for the La Rochelle title-deeds, and the Executive was authorized to sell one of the stands transferred to the late Transvaal Baptist Council, and which now revert to the S.A. Baptist Union.”⁴⁹ The deeds were finally obtained “from Rev Mr Pearson, after paying him £50 in settlement of his claim against the Union, and they have been deposited in the safe at Grahamstown.”⁵⁰ These stands at La Rochelle were bought in order to generate capital for the BU because the BU Executive agreed “to authorize the Transvaal Baptist Church Council to sell the stands at a suitable opportunity, and, after recouping the treasure, to apply the proceeds to Baptist extension on the Rand.”⁵¹ Years later, in 1912, in an *Addendum to Executive Report*, the BU secretary, Rev H. J. Batts, wrote: “The

⁴⁴ Committee’s Report in *re* Northern Missions: Annexure C, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 59.

⁴⁵ Committee’s Report in *re* Northern Missions: Annexure A, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 58.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* According to the minutes, “The following is a summary of the financial results. Total receipts, £549.5s.2d. Expenses of Deputation, £252.13s. Charges in connection with pulpit supplies, £117.15s. Total expenses, £370.8s. Credit balance, £178.17s.2d. Additional promises of £150 yet to be received.” (Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 25.).

⁴⁷ These lands that were confiscated from the natives by the Europeans and in turn loaned to fellow Europeans, were used as a means of income generation for Europeans and institutions initiated for the benefit of Europeans.

⁴⁸ Committee’s Report *re* Northern Missions: Annexure C, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 59.

⁴⁹ Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 38.

⁵⁰ Report of [BU] Executive to the 28th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1906-1907, p. 12. By this period, 1904, the new government, led by the English, in control of the whole country, had commenced auditing the land (See Lagden, G. Y. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 2-4.).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Executive is requested to give advice as to the position of the La Rochelle stands.”⁵² The stands however, seemed not to have generated the capital that the BU had hoped they would. Only three years later, in 1915, the BU Executive reported: “With great satisfaction we reported that these [La Rochelle] stands have at last been disposed of by which the Union will be able to recover nearly what it has paid out.”⁵³

Notwithstanding the BU’s and SABMS’s scramble for land in native areas, the BU in particular, like other administrative bodies of European denominations in South Africa, also rapidly occupied land in European residential areas. For example, in 1906 the BU Executive reported:

In spite of changes and difficulties in our Johannesburg Churches, the brethren there have been quick to seize openings for aggressive work. At Rosebank, the Baptists were for once the first in the field, and for six months services have been held in the Government School, which at night is usually crowded out. A temporary building is being erected, and a site for a permanent Church has been given to the Council by the Braamfontein Co., Ltd. An encouraging start has also been made in the Bezuidenhout Valley. For a time a marquee was hired, and was well filled. Since 5th August a Church has been rented from the Congregationalists; but as this is not satisfactorily situated, it is proposed to secure a site. Meanwhile, the enterprise has paid its way. A third sphere has been entered in Regent’s Park, and good progress is being made, though at present the work is of an interdenominational character. Here too a temporary building is to be erected on a site presented by the Regent’s Park Estates, Ltd.⁵⁴

Other pieces of land that the BU received from various town councils for European churches were for example, in 1895, that in Bloemfontein, where the church reported: “A parsonage has been erected on a valuable site presented to the Baptist Union Church by the Town Council of Bloemfontein.”⁵⁵ Another such report was made in 1914: “A grant of land has been made by the Town Council of Vrede for Church purposes, but some delay has been occasioned in the Administrator’s office and the transfer has not yet been made.”⁵⁶ In the

⁵² Addenda to Executive Report, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 10.

⁵³ Report of [BU] Executive to the 36th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 7.

⁵⁴ Report of [BU] Executive to the 28th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1906-1907, p. 11.

⁵⁵ Chronicles of the Churches, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 32.

⁵⁶ Report of BU Executive to the 35th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 8.

same report, there is a record of a private donation: a certain "Mr Jolliffe is presenting a piece of land at Wakkerstroom, his intention being that it shall be used for purposes of a Manse in the place."⁵⁷

Similarly, other Europeans had also presented land to the BU, though in some cases it was to be used for mission amongst the natives. For example, "A piece of ground for Native work at Korsten, Port Elizabeth, [was] presented and transferred to the Union by Mr J. E. Biggs."⁵⁸ Prior to this, the only other gifts of land the BU (including the SABMS) had received were in 1895 and 1904 respectively. In 1895, "Mr Adolph Arnold offered a piece of land with a building on it, which he would make suitable for a chapel, upon the condition that Mr Pearce returned to Tembuland as a resident missionary."⁵⁹ The SABMS Committee was thankful "for the generous offer, but felt that the time was not opportune for Mr Pearce to leave the work at King Williamstown and Tshabo."⁶⁰ As result, the committee decided "to recognize Tembuland as an outstation to be visited periodically by Mr Pearce. This arrangement, along with the support of the committee, has helped on the work, while at the same time Mr Adolph Arnold has conducted services regularly for the native converts and the heathen."⁶¹

In 1904, for the first time, according to BU minutes, in South African Baptist history a native convert - intriguingly - gave land to the SABMS. This was at Rabula, near Keiskama Hoek, where "Our senior deacon, Mr Jonas Mshumfela, has given a site for a Church to our Missionary Society of about one acre in extent."⁶² Commenting on this, the SABMS wrote, "This is unique, for it is the first gift of land [in the Baptist Church] from a Christian native to our Society."⁶³ Worth noting about this land is that already, "a church is erected ... , the deacons themselves undertaking the responsibility of its erection. The building was officially opened in July [1904] by the Rev H. Gutsche, sen., when the natives contributed liberally to liquidate the debt, the donor of the site giving £20 besides."⁶⁴ Surely, Mr Mshumfela was to

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Report of BU Executive from 1st October 1905 to 30th September 1906, in BU Handbook for 1906-1907, p. 14.

⁵⁹ The Fourth Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1897-1898, pp. 48-49.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² SABMS Annual Report for 1904, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 43.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

some extent "well-off."⁶⁵ But this donation took place at the same time that the Lagden Commission was reviewing, among other land matters, what to do with the land owned by the natives. This act brings us to the controversial issue of land owned by natives and then, "granted" to the Europeans, the main reason being, to secure such land for governmental confiscation. Such a practice, according to van Donk, was also common among "chiefs [who] sometimes granted land to missionaries, because this seemed a way to ensure the black population access to land."⁶⁶ In this way, in addition to the Europeans' own farms, the natives could also retain their "private farms," thus squatting in them under a European title-holder. These natives could also avoid being forced into the "labour economy."

During the same period, the Lagden Commission (1903-1905), also referred to as the Inter-Colonial Commission, chaired by the same Mr G. Y. Lagden whose views were discussed above, commenced with its duties. This Commission was instituted in order to deal with "squatting" among other issues. It expressed the view that "the unrestrained squatting of Natives on private farms was an evil and against the best interests of the country."⁶⁷ These squatting natives could not be easily identified and drawn into the government's economy. With a view "to prevent the continuance and spread of the evil, the recommendation was made that, with the exception of bona fide farm servants and their families, Natives should not be permitted to live on private farms, except with the Government sanction, which should only be given in special cases, and under the Government control, and should, if permission were given so to reside, pay an annual license."⁶⁸ This proclamation, according to Brookes, "is the germ of the Native Land Act provision regarding squatting,"⁶⁹ a connection not made by many scholars,⁷⁰ who think that the 1913 Land Act had brought into being, a new

⁶⁵ See Beinart, W., Delius, P., & Trapido, S. (1986). *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850-1930*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press. In this work, the authors discuss some of the natives who had "amassed wealth," through agriculture and farming, in the rural outskirts of the country.

⁶⁶ Van Donk, M. (1994). *Land and the Church: The Case of the Dutch Reformed Churches*. Western Province: Western Province Council of Churches, p. 4.

⁶⁷ Brookes, E. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 331.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ See the following articles in *Bulletin of Contextual Theology in Africa*. Vol. 5. No. 3. September 1998: Philpott, G. & Zondi, P. "Church Land: A Strategic Resource in the War against Poverty," pp. 17-39, and Tsele, M. & Butler, M. "Towards a Theology of Church Land in South Africa," pp. 40-45. On the whole, other articles in the journal, particularly those that were a response to Tsele and Butler's article, such as the one by Maluleke, and the report of the Southern African Anglican Theological Commission which in its historical overview of land usage in Southern African from precolonial times to the 1980's, also came short of understanding the stages that led to the 1913 Land Act.

terminology, and definitive statutory land discrimination. Unfortunately Brookes, trapped in his liberal tendencies, argued unashamedly that this germ was "in itself desirable."⁷¹

Similar recommendations were made with regard to crown, municipal and other public lands. Even though the Commission resolved that certain restrictions upon the purchase of land by the natives were necessary, it remarked, "Natives ... will be excluded from this privilege except in limited areas selected partly for their unhealthiness and unsuitability for irrigation and cultivation and other kindred reasons."⁷² This confirms the earlier argument that natives were relocated to and "given" unsuitable and unlivable poor land. The resolutions, as finally approved, read as follows:

This Commission is of the opinion and recommends:

- (1) That the time has arrived when the lands dedicated and set apart, or to be dedicated and set apart, as locations, reserves or otherwise, should be defined, delimited and reserved for the Natives by legislative enactment.
- (2) That this should be done with a view to finality in provision of land for the Native population and that thereafter no more land should be reserved for Native occupation.
- (3) The creation, subject to adequate control, of Native locations for residential purposes near labour centres or elsewhere on proof that they are needed.
- (4) That the right of occupation of the lands so defined and set apart shall be subject to a condition of forfeiture in case of rebellion.⁷³

Thus, according to Brookes, it becomes clear to anyone reading the Natives Land Act of 1913 in conjunction with these proposals that the Land Act was not a sudden tyrannical proposal of the Union Government of that date, but was based largely on the considered *Report of the Commission*. "Unfortunately," Brookes continued, "the recommendations of the Commission were altered in some points for the worse; the [Land] Act [of 1913] was (though by no means sudden, having appeared eight years after the Inter-Colonial Commission's Report) at the last minute rushed through; [and] the 'squatting' provisions were tightened up in a way both harsh and impolitic."⁷⁴ Brookes concluded his liberal argument by patronizingly insulting the native people saying that "the [Land] Act which, wisely planned, might have been a blessing, has been rather a curse."⁷⁵

⁷¹ Brookes, E. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 331.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 332.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 332-333.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

As discussed before, the SABMS, which was established in 1892, commenced with mission work in the same year. Not all the lands on which that it carried out mission work were its (or the BU's) lands. Some if not all, of such lands the SABMS was hoping to secure, in the long run, as its own. For example, in 1895, in Pondoland, as one reads that "A site for a mission station has been selected in Mlindazwe's Location, a place distant about 20 miles from Bizana, and the Society has received permission from Government to occupy 10 acres of land, but without any title to it."⁷⁶ The occupation of these ten acres of land was made possible through Major Sprigg's assistance. He was magistrate of Bizana, and had also "[given] hospitality to our missionary [Rev Joyce]."⁷⁷ Already, Rev Joyce, "[who] itinerates, ... hopes soon to establish an outstation about 25 miles away from the centre of this work where people have expressed the desire to have a school established for the education of their children."⁷⁸

8.1.2. The SABMS's aggressive acquisition of "mission land"

As the SABMS grew both in terms of mission work and in its acquisition of land⁷⁹ and property⁸⁰ from 1912 it started, aggressively, to formally register sites on which it carried out its mission work as its property, whether these sites were gifts or purchases. For a start, in 1912 the SABMS Committee "[took] steps to have the site at Toleni, at present occupied by the Society, formally granted by the Government, with a view to the necessity of the building of a new church there."⁸¹ This work at Toleni was reportedly, prospering.⁸² However, this site by 1915 had not yet been acquired by the SABMS because in its *Report* to the 1915 BU Assembly the SABMS Committee wrote, "Negotiations are proceeding for obtaining the long needed, and oft applied for, site at Toleni."⁸³ However, also in the Transkei, "the site of the Church at Mbewana [was] granted to us by an Act of Parliament ... and we hope soon to

⁷⁶ The Fourth Annual Report of the SABMS, in *BU Handbook for 1897-1898*, p. 48.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Before Mr Joyce left for Pondoland the committee resolved that he should be ordained to the work of the Gospel, and at a special service held in the German Baptist Church, on September 30th, 1895, "he was solemnly set apart" (The Fourth Annual Report of the SABMS, in *BU Handbook for 1897-1898*, p. 49.).

⁷⁹ In 1910 for example, the SABMS was given a dwelling-house in King Williamstown, which was "transferred at the expense of the donor, and the papers in connection with the transfer have been placed in the safe at Grahamstown" (SABMS Annual Report for 1909-1910, in *BU Handbook for 1910-1911*, p. 41.).

⁸⁰ During the Missionary Session of the 1909 BU Assembly, for example, it was reported, "an anonymous donor had presented a house to the Society. Resolved to recommend the Assembly's hearty acceptance of the generous gift in terms of the donor's letter, and to express warm appreciation therefore" (Minutes of 1909 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1909-1910*, p. 47.).

⁸¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1911-1912, in *BU Handbook for 1912-1913*, p. 40.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ The 24th Annual Report of the SABMS, in *BU Handbook for 1915-1916*, p. 31.

acquire the site at Xonya.”⁸⁴ These sites, according to the *Report*, belonged to District 1, which comprised the magistracies of Butterworth, Nqamakwe and Engcobo. In addition to the sites at District 1, in District 2, which comprised the magistracies of Idutywa, Kentani and Willowvale, “negotiations for the site at Qora Springs are proceeding, [while] the site at Cebe has not yet been secured.”⁸⁵

The SABMS’s proactive approach to land acquisition, from 1912 onwards, is further explained by the political mood of the country during the same period. After the Inter-Colonial Commission (1903-1905), a number of land commissions were appointed in the various colonies between 1906-1909. The Natal Native Affairs Commission (1906-1907), for example, made some important recommendations with a view to the introduction of some simple yet effective form of personal control, such as “the Natives might comprehend.”⁸⁶ According to Lekhela, it suggested that “The treatment of natives in general should be of an autocratic nature as the masses are scarcely out of their childhood, and a certain amount of strict discipline was as essential to their well-being as it was to the well-being of anybody, scholastic or other under special Government.”⁸⁷ Among the list of recommendations this *Report* made, including the appointment of Location Inspectors, whose duty it would be to encourage closer settlement in native areas, to encourage natives to adopt improved methods of agriculture and to settle disputes, was the recommendation of the prohibition of further “alienation” of native land. In other words, it recommended: “the strict reservation of all Locations and Reserves for Native occupation, with ample provision for the introduction of civilizing and elevating agencies therein.”⁸⁸ The report further argued that natives on European lands should be encouraged “to adopt the calling of farm servant or agricultural labourer, as opposed to mere tenancy, and as such, escaping the rule of the Chief and the payment of Hut Tax, under certain conditions.”⁸⁹

In 1910, at the formation of the Union of South Africa, the land problem was still an important issue. Two years later, in 1912, when J. W. Sauer was appointed Minister of Native Affairs, as a successor to General Hertzog, “To the laymen Sauer’s appointment represented

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Lekhela, S. M. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 80.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 80-81.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 81.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

a triumph for liberalism.”⁹⁰ It held out the promise that “after all, the Cape influence would decide the adoption of a generally liberal South African Native policy. The policy of possessory segregation might gradually disappear.”⁹¹

The question of land adjustment in South Africa was indeed urgent and no longer allowed postponement. “During the next session [1912] of Parliament, Sauer introduced the Natives’ Land Bill which he had hurriedly prepared.”⁹² All liberal opinion, according to Lekhela, “was outraged, that Sauer of all people could introduce a Native Bill which prescribed territorial segregation in a drastic form.”⁹³ The Bill “provoked a chorus of protests from the Native leaders, the one exception being Tengo Jabavu who argued that at its worst, the Native had nothing to lose, because the Bill which purported to retain the status quo did not seek to deprive him of anything.”⁹⁴ Plaatjie,⁹⁵ however, commenting on the introduction of this Bill wrote: “The foregoing result of a legislative jumble is ‘the law,’ and this law like Alexander the coppersmith, ‘hath done us much harm.’”⁹⁶

As might have been expected, according to Plaatjie, “the debate on the Bill created the greatest alarm amongst the native population, for they had followed its course with keen interest.”⁹⁷ The consequences of this Bill are indicated by his remark: “Nothing short of a

⁹⁰ Lekhela, S. M. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.

⁹¹ Ibid. See also Brookes, E. H. *Op. Cit.* pp. 325-327, 334, who expounds the concept, “possessory segregation.” Briefly, natives were not allowed to own land in any white area, either directly or by the quasi-possessory rights of squatters, nor were Europeans allowed to own land in a black area. Brookes further argues that the Location Scheme, “from as early as 1846, was only a variant of possessory segregation. For though, in the Cape and Natal, free purchase of land by the natives outside the Location Areas was not forbidden, yet the natives had not, at that time, any idea of such purchase.” Furthermore, the Location Scheme “was more calculated to meet the economic requirements of a constantly increasing European population than the Volksraad’s original project.” Quoting Sir George Grey’s letter to Sir Harry Smith, written on 30th November, 1849, it succinctly put the matter as follows: “Permanent locations should be established in the Colony; and in selecting the sites of these locations, sufficient intervals should be left between each of them for the spread of white settlements; each European immigrant would thus have it in his power to draw supplies of labour from the location in his more immediate proximity.” The history of South Africa thenceforward shows a wider and wider spread of the Location Scheme of possessory segregation, sometimes accompanied by a formal prohibition of the acquisition of land outside the Locations by natives, sometimes not; but always with the general effect of black and white areas of possession by no means coinciding with areas of residence.

⁹² Lekhela, S. M. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid. Quoting Mr Schreiner, the Member of Parliament for Tembuland who waged a relentless war against the Bill in parliament, Lekhela (ibid., p. 87) recorded that Schreiner wrote the following: “Mr Jabavu by taking up the attitude in his paper of supporting the measure now before the House, had forfeited the trust of the Native people.” For a short background biography on Mr John Tengo Jabavu, see: Shepherd, R. H. W. (1955). *Bantu Literature and Life*. South Africa: Lovedale Press, pp. 90-93.

⁹⁵ For a short background biography on Mr Solomon Thekiso Plaatjie, see: Shepherd, R. H. W. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 96-99.

⁹⁶ Plaatjie, S. T. (1917). *Native Life in South Africa*. London: P. S. King, p. 51.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

declaration of war against [the natives] would have created such a similar excitement.”⁹⁸ Commenting on Mr Jabavu’s reception of this Bill Plaatjie, secretary of the South African Native National Congress and editor of *Tsala ya Batho*, “accused Jabavu of being out of touch with the views and feelings of the Native people. He stated that Jabavu at this time hardly attended meetings with his people, and that he relied on ‘the white daily press for information about the Natives at large.’”⁹⁹ (This statement also characterizes a number of contemporary black scholars who rely on white publications for information about blacks at large.).

According to Plaatjie, “if anyone had told us at the beginning of 1913, that a majority of members of the Union Parliament were capable of passing a law like the Native’s Land Act, whose object is to prevent the Natives from ever rising above the position of servant to the whites, we would have regarded that person as a fit subject for the lunatic asylum.”¹⁰⁰ This parliamentary decision, Lekhela wrote, “in June 1913 was the first serious attempt to solve the Native Land question on a Union wide scale on the basis of territorial segregation.”¹⁰¹ In an “official statement issued in November 1913 on this matter,”¹⁰² it was stated *inter alia* “that Parliament had decided that an effort should be made to put a stop to the many social and other evils which result from contact between Europeans and Natives.”¹⁰³ But this, according to Lekhela, was obviously not the whole story, for apart from the Government’s intention to solve some of the outstanding problems so clearly stated in the pre-Union commission reports, that is, squatting, share farming, vagrancy and stock thefts, there is evidence to show that the legislators were not without self-interest in hurrying through this enactment. The European taxpayer, particularly in the Transvaal, was becoming quite alarmed at the rate at which natives were acquiring farms in that province. On being asked to

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Lekhela, S. M. M. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 87-88. About this portion of South African history that records the opinions of native leaders on the Land Act, Lekhela (ibid., p. 88) wrote that it is a tragic loss since these opinions are difficult to trace, if any exist at all. Copies of the *Abantu Batho Press* and *Tsala ya Batho*, the two papers that certainly contained the opinions of the leaders of the South African Native National Congress cannot be found anywhere. The minutes of the South African Native National Congress have also been allowed to disappear. Hence it is necessary to fall back on what might be gleaned from discussions with the few survivors among the Native leaders of that time, such as Rev Z. R. Mashabane and Messrs. Thema, Mvabaza, and Skota, all of whom played an active role in the struggle of the Natives against the Bill; and from what was subsequently written about the Act.

¹⁰⁰ Plaatjie, S. T. *Op. Cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁰¹ Lekhela, S. M. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁰² Chief F. F. Zibi. *European and Bantu* (Papers and addresses read at the Conference on Native Affairs of the Federal Council of D.R.C. Churches at Johannesburg, 27th-29th September, 1923), p. 29, quoted in Lekhela, S. M. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

make a statement to Parliament about the extent and value of the farms or portions of farms that had during the last three years been registered by natives in the Transvaal the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr Sauer, replied, "(a) 78 farms, (b) 144,416 morgen, and (c) £94,907."¹⁰⁴

This was a revealing and alarming statement to Parliament. It emphasized the urgency of stabilizing the land position once and for all, and during that same session of Parliament the Natives' Land Act was placed on the Statute Book. The Native leaders had done all in their power to dissuade the Government from passing the measure. The South African Native National Congress had sent a deputation to interview the Minister of Native Affairs in Cape Town in March, 1913 "to protest to the Government the Native objection against the proposed embargo on the purchase and lease of land." The Government had rejected their arguments, and the Act had become the law of the land on the 19th June, 1913.¹⁰⁵

The BU benefited as a result of this Land Act. That is, the land they already owned was guaranteed to remain theirs. Further, more land was freed for further occupation and possession by the Europeans. This was a result of the resettling of natives to the reserves by the government. Furthermore, with land ownership (by the Europeans) came economic power, and more land from which came produce and upon which properties could be built, meant more economic power. As a result, and without doubt, the European churches (Baptist Church included) with their European members, were financially better off and were also more fully self supporting than their native counterparts.

As far as the Baptist Church was concerned, the BU, likewise, followed the SABMS action, concerning its 1915 follow up on the lands that it had not registered in its title deeds. For example, during the 1919 BU Assembly, "An instruction was passed to the Executive to make enquiries concerning lands which may have been granted to the Baptist Church in the neighbourhood of Benoni."¹⁰⁶ But in 1920, the SABMS experienced difficulties in taking transfer of sites. This was particularly the case in the Transvaal. As a result, these difficulties

¹⁰⁴ Lekhela, S. M. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* The native leaders were not yet daunted. Mr J. L. Dube, the president of the South African Native National Congress, wrote to Lord Gladstone asking for an interview to lay before him the nature of the damage the Land Act was causing the native population. When the interview was not granted, the deputation then decided, after all local efforts had failed to persuade the South African government to repeal the Act, to send a deputation to petition "His Majesty's Government" in England. The deputation consisting of Mr Dube, Dr Rubusana, Messrs. Sol. T. Plaatjie, S. Msane and T. M. Maphikela sailed for England in 1914. But when war broke out 1914, British interest was immediately removed from the South African scene. (*Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.).

¹⁰⁶ Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1917-1919, pp. 31-32. As mentioned earlier, this Handbook covers two years instead of the usual one year period, it is because the 1918 BU Assembly was not held due to the Influenza epidemic. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.).

“revealed the necessity of making certain conditions and amendments to our constitution in order to comply with government’s requirement.”¹⁰⁷ And these, according to the SABMS Committee’s report to the BU Assembly, “have been framed for your adoption.”¹⁰⁸ To this effect, the SABMS Constitution was totally rewritten¹⁰⁹ along the lines of the BU Constitution. Of particular note for this thesis are the clauses concerning the receiving and/or purchase of property, and the clause on the investment of such property. These clauses were not found in the 1892 SABMS Constitution.

According to the newly drafted 1921 SABMS Constitution, “the Society is empowered to receive, purchase, hold, hypothecate, and sell movable and immovable property, also to invest such monies available on first mortgage or other security approved by the Committee.”¹¹⁰ It added: “all such property shall be invested in, and all bonds shall be made out in favour of, the Trustees of the Society, who shall be Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer, and their successors in office.”¹¹¹ An aspect worth reiterating is that, all these officers were European. In the same *Report* of 1920, in which the SABMS reported on difficulties regarding the transfer of sites in the Transvaal, it found consolation in reporting about the financial bequests¹¹² made to it. In particular, the SABMS,

... rejoiced also in a bequest from one of our Native converts, Elder Jonas Mshupela of Rabula in Kaffraria, who has died at the ripe age of 97, and has left us the site of our Mission station there. This awakens great hope that the Natives will increasingly be able to support their own Church. One recognizes also the grace of God in such an action, which is to some extent paralleled by the purchase and conveyance of a site for a church at Devon on the Reef by two of our [native] preachers. The result of this has been that 5 members have grown into 5 congregations.¹¹³

In the year 1921, two years prior to the formation of the Native Baptist Church Councils in 1923, for the first time in the SABMS’s annual financial statements appeared a record of the

¹⁰⁷ The 29th Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 42.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ See 1892 SABMS Constitution in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 33. See also Volume Three (Appendices); the document entitled: 1892 SABMS Constitution.

¹¹⁰ [1921] Constitution of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p. 54.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² These bequests were: £700 held in trust for the benefit of the work in Lambaland from the late Miss Elizabeth Phillips, and another bequest of £1500 from the late Mr Orsmond, who gave one seventh of the profits of Orsmond’s Great African Remedies Co. Ltd., part of which would be available in 3 years and the remainder in 10 years. (The 29th Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, pp. 41-42.).

¹¹³ The 29th Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1920-1922, p.42.

“Survey expenses of Church Sites” that amounted to £22.7s.0d.¹¹⁴ As discussed before,¹¹⁵ with the formation of the Native Baptist Church Councils (NBCC) in 1923 and the Bantu Baptist Church (BBC) in 1927 respectively, the SABMS made it “clear” in the constitutions of these two bodies that it owned the properties, including the land on which these black churches were built. While the NBA listed among its objectives: “To foster the establishment of self-supporting and self-propagating Native Churches”¹¹⁶ and “To obtain reliable numerical and financial statistics of the Native Churches,”¹¹⁷ it further stated concerning the role of these councils that they “shall be consultative and advisory bodies for the more effective guidance of and mutual co-operation in the work of the Native Baptist Churches, the final authority being reserved to the [European-only] Missionary Society.”¹¹⁸ The SABMS having laid down the ground rules with the NBCC in 1923, at the formation of the BBC, four years later, the SABMS explicitly stated: “All property of the [Bantu Baptist] church shall be held in trust by the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society.”¹¹⁹

To sum up, the political state of this period prior to 1929, was according to Miller, characterized by “three pillars of apartheid.”¹²⁰ The Natives’ Land Act of 1913 was, according to Miller, “identified as the ‘first pillar’ of apartheid and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 20 of 1923 has been characterized as the second pillar.”¹²¹ The same year,¹²² was also the year when the Native Baptist Church Council, was formed, a body initiated by the European missionaries. According to the Urban Areas Act, as Plaatjie had earlier predicted, “The native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man’s creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom [sic] when he ceases so to minister.”¹²³ The Native Urban Areas Act “while conceived within the framework of the Land Act, was a product of Lagden thinking and, to

¹¹⁴ SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending June 29th 1922, in *BU Handbook for 1922-1923*, p. 57. The following year, 1923, in financial statement appeared expenditure on a “Survey and Registration of Church site, Engwele Xonge No. 14,” which amounted to £3.3s.0d. (SABMS Annual Financial Statement from 1st July 1922 to 30th June 1923, in *BU Handbook for 1923-1924*, p. 69.). This was the last record of such expenses even though the SABMS later acquired many more church sites.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 5.

¹¹⁶ Constitution of the Native Baptist Church Councils in Connection with the SABMS, in *BU Handbook for 1923-1924*, p. 56.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the SABMS, in *BU Handbook for 1928-1929*, p. v.

¹²⁰ Miller, D. L. C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 24.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² See Chapter 4.

¹²³ Report of the Stallard Commission of 1922, quoted in van Donk, M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 6. See also Miller, D. L. C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 25.

this extent, emerged from the matrix of the Milner regime [March 1901 - April 1, 1905].”¹²⁴ This Act provided for the establishment of locations by local authorities. Lastly, a significant and fundamental measure in the racial policy of the Hertzog era was the Native Administration Act of 1927. “This, the third and in many respects the most formidable pillar of apartheid created an entirely new legislative, administrative and judicial infrastructure of controlling the African people. From now on ultimate powers vested in the Governor-General, who was accorded the title of ‘Supreme Chief’ with authority to create tribes and to remove either tribes or individuals as he saw fit.”¹²⁵ As in 1923 when the Native Urban Areas Act was passed, the Baptist Church formed the Native Baptist Church Councils also in 1927 when the Native Administration Act was passed the Bantu Baptist Church was formed¹²⁶ - no coincidences, but careful and well calculated moves by European Baptists.

8.1.3. Control and administration of SABMS and BU lands

After 1927, the BU Executive distributed in 1933 a *Model Trust Deed* to be used in administering all deeds of the Baptist Church of South Africa, including those held through the SABMS by the BU. This model deed was agreed to by the Assembly of the same year. As discussed before,¹²⁷ also according to this *Model Trust Deed* document, the trustees of the Baptist Union of South Africa were “to be the President, Secretary and Treasurer for the time being in their official capacity as such, and their successors in those offices.”¹²⁸ In the event of land being purchased and placed on trust with a view to subsequent building operations on it:

The Trustees shall have power to build or permit to be built on land transferred or to be transferred to the Trust, a building for the use and purpose of the Baptist Church already constituted or to be constituted hereafter, with or without school or class rooms and such other buildings, and accommodation as may be necessary, usual or convenient for carrying on the work of a Baptist Church and/or the housing of the Minister and at any time before the formation of a properly constituted Baptist Church as hereinafter mentioned to raise by mortgage of the said land such sum or sums of money as they shall think fit for the purchase

¹²⁴ Miller, D. L. C. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 24-25.

¹²⁵ Bennett, T. W. *African Land – A History of Dispossession*, in Zimmermann, R. & Visser, D. *Op Cit. Southern Cross: Civil Law and Common Law in South Africa*, pp. 82-83, quoted in Miller, D. L. C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 25.

¹²⁶ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of how through these bodies, the European missionaries controlled the native churches and their leaders under the guise that they were “guiding them.”

¹²⁷ See Chapter 2.

¹²⁸ A Model Trust Deed as prepared by the Executive of the BU of S.A., in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 80.

of the said land and the erection of the buildings as above, and to stand possessed of the said land and buildings so to be erected subject to such mortgage as aforesaid - if any. All plans and specifications for such buildings shall be submitted to and approved by the Trustees previous to calling for tenders.¹²⁹

The Church property, similarly to a point mentioned previously,¹³⁰ “whether movable or immovable and whether already received, purchased, held or hypothecated or hereafter received, purchased, held or hypothecated shall vest in and be held by The Trustees of the Baptist Union of South Africa as aforesaid in Trust for the Members of the Church duly constituted or to be constituted in terms of this Trust Deed.”¹³¹ The meaning of this clause is that, the native churches – many as they were – were collectively referred to as one church, the Bantu Baptist Church, administered by the European-led SABMS. Hence the use of the singular when referring to the term “church” in the titles of their constitutions. That is: “Constitution of Native Baptist Church Councils in Connection with the South African Baptist Missionary Society”¹³² and “The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the South African Baptist Missionary Society.”¹³³

Immovable property on such land be it “at any time held or to be held by the Trustees Authority hereinbefore named shall not be alienated save as hereinafter provided except by sanction of a majority of the Members at a Church Meeting properly convened in terms hereof, confirmed by a subsequent special Church Meeting called for the purpose, to be held within one month from the date of the first meeting.”¹³⁴ In other words, property on such land was to be understood to be part of the land. To validate this clause, “The signature of The President, Secretary and Treasurer of the Baptist Union of South Africa, signing as Trustees for the time being shall be sufficient authority for the Trustees to cause any Registrar of Deeds to register in his Registry of Deeds, the Transfer or hypothecation of any property of the Church providing always that they act under and by virtue of a resolution of the Members of the Church whether in annual, half-yearly or special meeting, assembled.”¹³⁵ Such trustees are “to stand possessed of the Property with full power, authority and discretion to do and

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ See Chapter 2.

¹³¹ A Model Trust Deed as prepared by the Executive of the BU of S.A., in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 80.

¹³² See BU Handbook for 1923-1924, pp. 54-55.

¹³³ See BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. I-VI.

¹³⁴ A Model Trust Deed as prepared by the Executive of the BU of S.A., in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 81. See also Volume Three (Appendices); the document entitled: A Model Trust Deed of 1933.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

exercise all such acts, deeds or other things incidental to the ownership and/or control of the property in terms of these presents with power further to sue or be sued in relation thereto excepting always the rights conferred on the Church occupying the property as defined in terms of Clause 8 of this Deed.”¹³⁶

This immovable church property under such trustees, “[shall be] used, occupied, and enjoyed as a place of Public Worship for the service of Almighty God, and/or for the purpose of schools, classes, residence for Minister [including a European Missionary] or such other purposes incidental to the work and service of a Baptist Church, as may be decided by the Church [or the European-led SABMS in the case of the natives].”¹³⁷ In instances whereby such property became unused or derelict, be it as a result of “Divine Service in any Church discontinued whether by reason of paucity of Members or for any other cause for a period of six months, then all movable or immovable property received, purchased, held hypothecated and/or hereafter received, purchased, held or hypothecated by such Church shall vest in and be held by the Executive as herein defined, and the said Executive may sell, mortgage or in any other whatsoever manner deal with and/or alienate the same and authorise any Registrar of Deeds in like manner as hereinbefore provided.”¹³⁸ It was added that: “Any funds resulting from such course of action shall be and become the property of the BAPTIST UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.”¹³⁹

Lastly, the “said Trustees shall have power from time to time to raise by mortgage of power on the said land and the buildings thereon or any part thereof such sum or sums of money and at such rate or rates of interest of sale, the said Church shall in Special Church Meeting determine and the Trustees shall consider it expedient to raise for any of the purposes hereinafter mentioned.”¹⁴⁰ And “upon further trust to [the Trustees could] apply the moneys arising from any such sale exchange letting or mortgage as aforesaid in or towards payment of the expenses of any such work of alteration improvement enlargement addition and rebuilding as hereinbefore mentioned or the purchase or acquisition for the purposes of the said Church of any other property of freehold tenure or for paying off (wholly or partially) or

¹³⁶ Ibid. Clause 8 reads: The property herein referred to shall be under the immediate control of the said Church, which body shall be bound and obliged to keep the same in good order and repair and pay all expenses including interest on any mortgage bond as it becomes due. (Ibid., p. 82.).

¹³⁷ A Model Trust Deed as prepared by the Executive of the BU of S.A., in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 81.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 83.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

procuring the transfer of any mortgage or mortgages for the time being affecting the said premises or for meeting or defraying any other necessary or proper expenses connected with or for the benefit of said Church as the Church shall in Special Church Meeting determine and the Trustees shall approve.”¹⁴¹

In addition, “[who] upon further trust, to hold all property taken in exchange purchased or otherwise acquired by the Trustees under the foregoing provisions and all buildings thereon.”¹⁴² Thus, “It is hereby declared that in making any mortgage under any of the powers of mortgaging herein contained the Trustees may insert in such mortgage such power of sale and other powers and such covenants and provisions as they may deem expedient including (if thought advisable) a provision for the continuance of the loan for any term to be therein specified.”¹⁴³ Underlining all the above, and decisively so, pertaining to all the land and property accumulated by the SABMS and BU in South Africa, “[in the case where] the Baptist Union of South Africa shall cease to exist then the Baptist Union of Great Britain shall be substituted for that of South Africa throughout, and the property shall devolve and vest in the said Baptist Union of Great Britain.”¹⁴⁴

Following the presentation of this *Model Trust Deed* at the 1933 BU Assembly, the assembly took a major decision to revise the BU and SABMS constitutions, respectively. In particular, the BU Constitution addressed specifically the issue of immovable property and further expounded what “ownership” of these meant. As discussed before, the 1921 BU Constitution amended and adopted at the BU Assembly held in Pietermaritzburg, in October of the same year, had the following statement on immovable property: “To receive, purchase, hold, hypothecate, and sell movable and immovable property.”¹⁴⁵ This clause the 1933 BU Constitution revised and adopted as “To receive, purchase, hold, hypothecate, sell, donate, lease, exchange and partition movable and immovable property.”¹⁴⁶ (These conceptual terms,

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 83-84.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 84.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁴⁵ Constitution of the BU of South Africa as amended and adopted in 1921, in *BU Handbook for 1921-1922*, p. 49. The most recently revised BU Constitution had been adopted in 1916, but had nothing on property, movable or immovable.

¹⁴⁶ Constitution of the BU of South Africa as revised and adopted in 1933, in *BU Handbook for 1934-1935*, p. 32.

of both constitutions, were similar to that which appeared in the 1913 Natives Land Act.)¹⁴⁷ Related to this objective, the constitution had two other objectives: "To act as Trustee for any Church or Association whether established or to be established"¹⁴⁸ and "To invest any funds of the Union in such manner as may be prescribed by By-Law."¹⁴⁹ In addition to these objectives, the constitution had a separate clause (Clause 10) on "Union Assets" which read: "All property and other assets of the Union and of the Trust Fund including investment shall be held by the Trustees of the Union and be registered in their name."¹⁵⁰

The responsibilities of the trustees, listed under the by-laws, under the title "Duties and Powers of the Trustees" read firstly that: "The Trustees of the Union shall hold on behalf of and for the benefit of the Union all property, estate, actions, credits and things of the Union including all securities and investments of the Trust Fund."¹⁵¹ Secondly, "All proceeds and income accruing to the Trustees shall be dealt with as directed by the Executive."¹⁵² Thirdly, "Trustees shall be bound to make, conclude, and accept all such purchases, sales, investments, leases, contract and agreements whatsoever as directed by the Executive subject always to the terms of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Union and also to sue for and recover monies, debts, goods and effects whatsoever due or belonging to the Union, and to discharge any securities or investments as so directed by the Executive as foresaid."¹⁵³ Finally, "During any vacancy in the office of Trustee or during the illness or absence from South Africa of one or more of the Trustees the remaining Trustee or Trustees shall be and act as Trustees with all the powers and authorities vested in the Trustees jointly."¹⁵⁴

The SABMS Constitution underwent the same changes as the BU Constitution, four years (1937) later. The 1921 SABMS Constitution stated the following concerning property: "That the Society is empowered to receive, purchase, hold, hypothecate, and sell movable and immovable property, also to invest monies available on first mortgage or other security

¹⁴⁷ See Lekhela, S. M. M. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 38-39. In introducing his discussion on the Land Act of 1913, Lekhela wrote that the first section of the Act was restrictive. It prohibits the "purchase, hire, or other acquisition" of land or interest in land by a Native of any land which at the time the Act was passed belonged to a European. The second-class clause of the same section of Act similarly makes it illegal for any European to acquire by "purchase, hire or other acquisition" any land or interest in land belonging to natives.

¹⁴⁸ Constitution of the BU of South Africa as revised and adopted in 1933, in BU Handbook for 1921-1922, p. 32.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41. See also Chapter 6 concerning the history and development of the BU Trust Fund.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

approved by the Committee.”¹⁵⁵ It added: “That all property shall be vested in, and all bonds shall be made in favour of, the Trustees of the Society, who shall be the Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer, and their successor in office.”¹⁵⁶ In 1937 it was decided “to replace the old Missionary Constitution which [was] no longer in line with legal requirements,”¹⁵⁷ in consultation with the BU’s legal adviser, Mr G. N. Cross. Among the list of objectives, two in particular relate to property and land. The first such objective read: “To invest, purchase, hold, hypothecate, sell, donate, lease, exchange and partition movable and immovable property.”¹⁵⁸ The second objective read: “To invest any funds of the Society in any manner hereinafter provided.”¹⁵⁹ Besides these two objectives which relate directly to property and land, there is another, immediately following the latter, which provides further evidence of discrepancies between the natives and Europeans: “To make provision for retiring and relief allowances or gratuities to [European] workers of the Society.”¹⁶⁰

Besides these objectives the SABMS Constitution, like the BU Constitution, had a specific clause (Clause 5) pertaining to property. This clause, entitled “Holding of Property,” read, “All property and other assets of the Society and of the Trust Funds of the Society including investments shall be held by the Trustees of the Union and be registered in their name.”¹⁶¹ Regarding the mission fields where the SABMS carried out its missionary activities, Clause 10 entitled “Control of Mission Areas” addressed matters of responsibilities and powers over these mission fields (lands). Firstly, “The Executive may constitute a Field Committee in respect of any area in which the Society is working and such Field Committee shall have such objects, powers and duties as may from time to time be determined by the Executive.”¹⁶² It is worth noting, as will later be observed in the discussion of the “Missionary Survey,” that these field committees constituted solely of Europeans. Secondly, “Each Mission area defined as such by the Executive shall be administered by such [European] Missionary or Missionaries as may be appointed thereto, who shall endeavour to make the said Mission area

¹⁵⁵ Constitution of the SABMS [amended and adopted during the 1921 BU Assembly], in BU Handbook for 1921-1922, p. 54.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ New Missionary By-Laws adopted during the 1937 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 65.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. Regarding the Trust Fund, “The provisions of sub-section (b) to (g) inclusive of Section 9 of the By-Laws of the Union shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the Society. The expression ‘the Union’ occurring in sub-section (c) thereof being read as ‘the Society.’” (Ibid.).

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 67.

self-supporting.”¹⁶³ Lastly, “The Superintendent Missionary administering a Mission area shall have such authority as may from time to time be delegated by resolution of the Executive.”¹⁶⁴ Clearly, land and control of it went hand in hand with carrying out mission, a factor that the SABMS did not overlook. Further, the SABMS did not forget to formalise, constitutionally, control over such land.

In terms of the amount spent on the acquisition of land by the SABMS, the SABMS records and BU minutes started reflecting, from 1934, the amounts spent and the value of such land in subsequent years. Prior to 1934 there was, as discussed earlier, the Ennals Institute’s property, acquired in 1930 “partly by means of an Arthington grant and partly by Dr Ennal’s generous gift, as well as other contributions, [which] comprises of 24 acres of farm land in the vicinity of the village of Berlin, 14 miles east of King Williams Town.”¹⁶⁵ It should be noted that this land would, according to Lagden, be classified as farm land. As earlier discussed, natives had to provide free labour in lieu of rent, wages if rent was levied, and allow Europeans to benefit from harvests cultivated by natives. This regulation would explain, as earlier discussed,¹⁶⁶ the fact of student ministers tilling this land in lieu of school fees. After 1933, the year during which there were major changes to the BU Constitution regarding property in particular, as discussed above, in 1934 appeared the first annual record of the SABMS’s purchase of land in native locations. The property was in Alexandra Township, on the western side of Johannesburg, purchased for £50.¹⁶⁷ The following year, this land was still recorded under the list of SABMS’s assets, and was still worth £50.¹⁶⁸ In the same year, the SABMS recorded under its liabilities, an amount of £31 as sundry creditors to the Alexandra Township Board,¹⁶⁹ pertaining to the land here. In the following years,¹⁷⁰ the Alexandra land was still reported to be worth £50. In 1935, the sundry debts on the Alexandra Township Board decreased to £19.¹⁷¹ In the same year, 1935, the SABMS

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Missionary Survey of 1944: Reports and Recommendations, p. 27.

¹⁶⁶ See Chapter 6.

¹⁶⁷ SABMS Statement of Account for the year ended 30th June 1934, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 51. Unfortunately, the records do not provide us with the exact size of this land.

¹⁶⁸ SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1935, p. 48.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ See SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 52; SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 58; SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 58; and SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 63.

¹⁷¹ See SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 52.

purchased another land, this time in Campbell, for £4.0s.3d.¹⁷² The value of the Campbell Township land also remained the same in subsequent years.¹⁷³ The stagnant value of native land confirms Frankel¹⁷⁴ and Weber's¹⁷⁵ argument about the politics underlining the valuing and devaluing of land. The value of native land was decreasing. Further, while native land was depreciating in value, that of the Europeans was appreciating – a factor further confirmed by the increasing property value of European churches.¹⁷⁶ This means therefore that while the value of natives' churches depreciated, that is, was "devalued," that of European churches appreciated and was "valued."

1937 was the year during which the BU Assembly decided to "replace the old Missionary Constitution," but this action was preceded in 1936 by the introduction of the Native Trust and Land Act. This Act did no more than increase the land that was released and available to blacks to about the level proposed by the Beaumont Commission almost twenty years earlier.¹⁷⁷ As early as 1929, this Act came before parliament as a Bill. Given the incapacity of the reserves to accommodate the native population, as indicated by the Beaumont Commission, "Thus [by 1929] only half of the Native population [was] in the existing reserves. Even so, the Reserves, taken as a whole, [were] already overcrowded."¹⁷⁸ Even though by this period there were over a million¹⁷⁹ natives on "European lands," the Bill listed the minimum number of natives who would be allowed there. These natives were to have no permanent right in European areas. They could remain lawfully so long as they were: full-time employees; registered labour tenants authorized by the Control Boards; existing squatters for whom a licence had to be paid, the licence being £5 per annum in the tenth and subsequent years after the passing of the Bill; aged and other specially exempted persons (e.g., ministers); and native owners of land (which in time were to be expropriated).¹⁸⁰

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ See SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 58; SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 63; and SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 41.

¹⁷⁴ See Chapter 2.

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 6.

¹⁷⁶ See any annual BU financial statements.

¹⁷⁷ Miller, D. L. C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁷⁸ Rheinallt-Jones, J. D. (1936). *The Native Trust and Land Bill*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

There is no doubt that the greater purpose of this Bill was to obtain greater control of native labour and to make it more dependent upon European employment for its presence in European areas.¹⁸¹ The forcing of the natives to go and work in order to earn money, through forcibly being made to participate in the pound economy, had a major bearing on mission churches. Natives would now have no excuse not to produce the required pound either in offerings, tithes, or any other form of contribution required to maintain SABMS buildings on native land and to pay the salaries of the European missionaries.

The SABMS's purchase of land in native "reserves," in 1940, includes the purchase of land in Orlando Township. It was in such land, in Orlando Township, in particular, that the Millard Institute building was erected.¹⁸² This project was referred to as the Orlando Scheme, and there is as early as 1938, in the SABMS financial statement of the same year, a record of an amount of £96.10s.3d. spent on "[the] Orlando Church Capital and Interest."¹⁸³ This land was the most expensive property purchased by the SABMS in native locations. To further substantiate this point, in the following year's SABMS General Account, an amount of £230.12s.6d. appeared as owing to sundry debtors on Orlando Church's loan bond.¹⁸⁴ Besides the property in the Alexandra, Campbell and Orlando townships, the SABMS also in 1938 purchased another plot, this time in Cornfields, for £38.17s.7d.¹⁸⁵ Like the other lands, the Cornfields' land remained at the "same" value in subsequent years.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ See the following works on the argument that to deprive the natives of their land would be to increase their number as the needed labour supply for European employers: Christopher, A. J. "Land Policy in Southern Africa during the Nineteenth Century," in *Zambezia*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1971, pp. 1-9; Ndlovu, S. M. "He did what any person in his position would have done to fight the forces of invasion and disruption": Africans, the land and contending images of King Dingane (the 'patriot') in the twentieth century, 1916-1950s," in *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 38, 1998, pp. 99-143; Mather, C. "Forced removal and the struggle for land and labour in South Africa: The Ngomane of Tenbosch," in *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1995, pp. 169-183; Stuart, D. "'For England and for Christ': The gospel of liberation and subordination in early nineteenth century history Southern Africa," in *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1993, pp. 377-395; Feinberg, H. M. "The Natives Land Act in South Africa: Politics, race, and segregation in the early 20th Century," in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1993, pp. 65-109.

¹⁸¹ Rheinallt-Jones, J. D. (1936). *The Native Trust and Land Bill*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, p. 17.

¹⁸² See Chapter 7.

¹⁸³ SABMS Revenue and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 55.

¹⁸⁴ SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 63.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ See SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 41; SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 49; and SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 50.

Again in 1940, the SABMS in trying to affirm its missionary presence in the country, and to further add to the list of lands it owned, mentioned in its annual reports in no uncertain terms that, "It must be remembered that the SABMS is responsible for certain definite areas, that we have been granted numerous sites on which we have many buildings"¹⁸⁷ even though "our European Missionaries are few in numbers."¹⁸⁸ In carrying out its "responsibility" over these "definite assets" the SABMS finally reported in 1943 that regarding the Alexandra township land, "By the energy and persistence of the Secretary of the Northern Field Committee (Rev A. H. Chapman) the legal Title Deeds of our property here have now been secured."¹⁸⁹ This property like the Campbell (£4.0s.3d.) and Cornfields (£38.17s.7d.) properties had remained at its purchase value (£50),¹⁹⁰ including 1944¹⁹¹ when the SABMS sent a missionary deputation to all its mission fields, the report of which will be further discussed below. Before moving to the deputation's report, concentrating initially on land issues, it is worth noting that there were lands, in particular tribal lands, that the SABMS would later lay claim to because either an SABMS church or school building had been built on them, regardless of whether such a building is through native contributions or that the land is the property of the tribal authority. One such example, as discussed,¹⁹² was in Pietersburg, in the district of Chief Molepo, "[who] has shown great interest in the school [and] has given and collected money and is using influence to help to secure Government recognition."¹⁹³

8.2. A survey of native work: The 1944 land and property audit of the SABMS

In June 1943, on the motion of Mr A. T. Babbs, a special committee was appointed by the SABMS Executive to consider policy and administration. Arising out of that committee's report, in October of the same year, it was decided "to appoint deputations to visit our Missionary fields in the Union of S.A. for conference with our [European] Superintendent Missionaries on their own ground, to make surveys of the respective fields and to frame

¹⁸⁷ SABMS Forty-Eighth Report, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 10.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Annual Report of the SABMS for 1942-1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 33.

¹⁹⁰ See SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 41; SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 49; SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 50; and SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 61.

¹⁹¹ See SABMS General Account Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 54.

¹⁹² See Chapter 7.

¹⁹³ SABMS Annual Report for 1942-1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 33.

recommendations for the consolidation and development of our work.”¹⁹⁴ Consequently, the first deputation visited Pondoland, East Griqualand, the Transkei and Kaffraria, leaving Cape Town on January 17th, 1944. The deputation consisted of Mr E. V. Baker, Rev A. J. Cross and the SABMS’s general secretary, Rev C. Garratt. The second deputation, including the president (Mr A. T. Babbs), Rev A. H. Chapman, and again Rev A. J. Cross and Rev C. Garratt, visited as much of the Transvaal field as was possible in the time available, the Cape members returning home, to Cape Town, and Mr Cross returning to Northern Rhodesia early in March, 1944. Regarding this survey, it was reported that the

[SABMS] Executive consider that this Missionary Survey Report, with the attached Recommendations, is the most important document that has been presented to the members of the Society since its formation and commend it to the most earnest consideration of every [1944] Assembly delegate. The future direction of the Society’s work will depend very much upon its decisions taken now.¹⁹⁵

The *Report* details a number of findings about the SABMS’s land, in terms of each field. Firstly, in the Pondoland field, the nature of the work “lies in a score of scattered centres unevenly distributed over a very large area. A map prepared two years ago by the Rev Thomas Chapman shows that most of these centres lie to the westwards of Mjozi.”¹⁹⁶ Originally, according to the *Report*, “these mission centres could be reached only on horseback, but roads now make it possible for most of them to be reached by motor car, and for nearly twenty years the generosity of some anonymous friends has made it possible for our missionary to keep and maintain the car.”¹⁹⁷ The Mjozi mission station, in the SABMS’s Pondoland field, lies “about 28 miles by road [to the South-East] of the administrative centre of Bizana in Eastern Pondoland and about 15 miles from the coast.”¹⁹⁸ The station comprised:

... a large, well-built mission house of burnt brick with an iron roof and with separate garage and small out-houses. A hundred yards off is a wood-and-iron church seating about 200 with, a short distance away, three large schoolrooms and a fourth in the course of construction. One schoolroom, constructed from material once used for an institute building is of iron lined with brick. The others are of pole and mud with thatched roofs. Further, two large round thatched huts for the accommodation of native visitors complete the group of buildings near the

¹⁹⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1943-1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 21.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁹⁶ The Pondoland Field, in Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations, p. 6.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

mission house. Five hundred yards away is the settlement of the Evangelist, Richard Ndubeke, consisting of two thatched houses and two or three acres of cultivated ground. The surroundings of the mission house itself show how much labour and care Mr and Mrs. Brailsford have given during the years to the planting and cultivation of a variety of fruit trees and flowering plants. The whole mission area covers 18 acres of government land that the S.A.B.M.S. has permission to occupy. There is no other title to the land and if the use of the premises for mission purposes were ever to cease the Government would re-acquire the land. All outlying buildings - churches, schools, ministers' and evangelists' residence - are on land held under the same arrangement. The S.A.B.M.S. has no property rights in land in Pondoland.¹⁹⁹

Attached to Pondoland was another mission station, East Griqualand, which "under supervision forms a separately organised unit."²⁰⁰ Originally begun and maintained by the Lott Carey Missions with the Rev S. Mashologu, a native minister, in charge, it was taken over by the SABMS when Mr. Joyce was Superintendent. Concerning this mission station, the deputation wrote:

Since the transference of Mr. Mashologu to East London some years ago, the work has been in charge of the Rev. J. Solwandle, an elderly, well-trained minister who, both as evangelist and as minister, has rendered long and loyal service to the Society. His home and main centre is at Xameni, about 30 miles north of Mount Frere and more than 100 miles west of Mjozi. Here he has laboured for over 10 years in an area which extends for 70 to 80 miles in various directions. The towns of Kokstad and Matatiele lie in this area. Our work lies exclusively among the Bantu people and not among the Griquas. A membership of about 270 lies scattered across this district in 14 or 15 small groups. These are visited regularly by the minister on horseback. (A Cape cart in which Mr. Solwandle used to travel has for some time been laid by with a broken wheel. The Deputation felt that having regard to Mr. Solwandle's increasing age - he is 64 though still vigorous - it would be wise to have this vehicle repaired at the Society's expense).²⁰¹

It was also reported that in East Griqualand, "The Presbyterian and Methodist missions have a large work in this area and all the schools belong to these or other denominations. The S.A.B.M.S. has no school here."²⁰² Mr. Brailsford, Superintendent of Pondoland, "has been able to visit Mr. Solwandle about three times a year and considers that this is frequent enough

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 11.

²⁰² Ibid.

for effective supervision of the work of such a well-trained man.”²⁰³ Xameni was according to the deputation, “remote from the main roads and is almost inaccessible in the wet weather.”²⁰⁴

In making a recommendation regarding the Pondoland and East Griqualand fields, the deputation wrote “[that it] would not regard favourably the further geographical extension of the work in Pondoland,”²⁰⁵ because “The present commitments, allowing for natural increase and growth, will require increased financial support and increased Native staffing.”²⁰⁶ Further, the deputation “recognise[d] in many of our present day problems the results of somewhat haphazard extension in time past and deprecate the perpetuation of such methods however justified they may have been in pioneer days.”²⁰⁷

The second field reported on, was that of the Transkei. This area, in which lay the work of the Rev. Hugo Peinke, stretched from West Pondoland in the north to the Toleni River in the south, a distance of well over 100 miles; and from the coast, 50 miles east of Idutywa to the Queenstown and Glen Grey areas, more than a hundred miles to the west.

In this enormous area, inhabited in the north by Pondos and in the south by Tembus and Fingoes (all Xhosa-speaking tribes), the eleven church centres for which the S.A.B.M.S. is responsible lie scattered. At each of these centres there is a modest church building and from them the more than 40 preaching places listed by Mr. Peinke are reached. Only five of these preaching places have buildings of any kind: at the others services are held in the open air or in the houses of the members. Most of the buildings are used for day schools under the management of the missionary superintendent, subsidised by the Government. Mr Peinke supervises eight aided schools and there are also “private” schools, i.e. entirely supported by the local people.²⁰⁸

Many of the centres here “were not originally established by the S.A.B.M.S. They were planted by the workers of two American Negro Baptist Missions, viz. the Lott-Carey Mission (the originators of the work in East Griqualand) and the National Baptist Convention whose main station Buchanan (or Qanda) in the Ciskeian area of Middledrift comes under the

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ The Transkei Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 15.

superintendence of the Rev B. Pape.”²⁰⁹ A section of the National Baptist Convention that split off from the main body under a leader named Andrew Ntlahla (who eventually joined the SABMS) represented a “third body” which at one time was active in the Transkeian area. “Many years ago the liberal financial support from the U.S.A., which these centres enjoyed, ceased and the majority of the members attached to these particular centres came under the wing of our Society.”²¹⁰ Thus, these many centres, according to the SABMS, “resulted largely from the uncontrolled work of other bodies and the S.A.B.M.S. has inherited the burden of their probably mistaken zeal.”²¹¹

Given the size of this work, the SABMS organized it into five circuits. These were: West Pondoland, with twelve preaching places, lying between Umtata and Port St. Johns; the Umtata Circuit with four preaching places, to the south of the town of Umtata; the Idutywa Circuit with nine preaching places, lying between the coast on the east and districts to the far north and west of the town; the Tsomo Circuit with ten preaching places 50 miles to the west of Idutywa township; and the Glen Grey Circuit in the neighbourhood of Queenstown with Mpotula as its centre - more than 100 miles from Idutywa.²¹² To cover all these areas, four Native Ministers worked with Mr Peinke, namely, Rev James Mqwiquwi (sic), “an elderly man of the old school”²¹³ who works in the Tsomo district, the Rev Philip Nqoro in West Pondoland, the Rev Pony Mtini near Idutywa, and the Rev S. Somaqaca (sic) at Mpotula. Of these, the deputation only saw Revs Philip Nqoro and Pony Mtini. Reporting their observations in these centres, the deputation wrote: “Evangelists, laypersons and deacons are at work in the many centres and are carrying large responsibilities. Prominent among these are Mr Francis Mtini, (father of the minister) an elderly evangelist stationed at Qora, near Idutywa, whose dignified appearance and obvious sincerity greatly impressed the Deputation.”²¹⁴ One might wonder what the deputation meant by “dignified appearance.” Such utterance was no doubt underlined by settler/ colonial perceptions of what constituted such an appearance.²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

²¹⁵ See Chapter 2 & 4. Briefly, this dignified appearance meant among other factors, the degree to which the natives were “properly” dressed in European clothes.

In order to better supervise the Transkeian fields' work, according to the deputation, the Rev and Mrs Peinke in 1926, moved from Mpotula to the town of Idutywa, which lies on the railway line 71 miles south of Umtata and is about 50 miles north of the boundary of the Transkeian territories on the Kei River. Idutywa, it was observed,

is probably as centrally situated as any other for the supervision of such a wide-flung work. National roads with their feeder roads enable most of the main centres to be visited by car. Native ministers and preachers still use this method. The car that Mr. Peinke uses is his own personal property. The Society makes a grant of £6 - being £3 towards replacement and £3 towards running expenses - an amount which cannot cover frequent visitation of all centres. The house at Idutywa in which Mr & Mrs Peinke live is also their property, a house allowance of £6 a month being made by the Society. The house is situated on land adjoining the site of the European Baptist church of which Mr. Peinke is pastor but it is not a Baptist Union land. The work of this church, which includes the visitation of a large number of country members and occasional services at Umtata, divides Mr Peinke's time with the Native work as far as possible on a half-and-half basis. The European congregation finds half Mr. Peinke's salary.²¹⁶

The similarity of the work in the West Pondoland field to the Pondoland field, according to the deputation, applies equally to that in the Transkei and Kaffrarian fields. The scattered nature of the work; "occupation of the area by other large denominational missions in whose schools and institutions many of our native workers are educated and trained; the fact that our Baptist spheres represent 'islands' amid the numerous schools and churches of these missions which cover the country as a whole (the five mile rule is operative throughout both the Transkeian and Ciskeian Territories), the absence of any understanding as to 'spheres of influence' leading to a certain amount of rivalry, and competition in securing of sites - these and other general features of the situation in all three fields need not be mentioned again and again."²¹⁷

Concerning the land and the buildings, in this field, it was remarked that "the S.A.B.M.S. has no property rights in the Transkeian field other than the permission to occupy granted by the Government."²¹⁸ According to the *Report*, it was also "to be noted that all sites are 'Church' and not 'School' sites. ... it appears therefore that no rent grant from the Government would

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* The "five mile rule" meant that a denomination could not open a church or a school within five miles of any other denomination.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

become available if existing buildings were improved or new buildings erected on these sites.²¹⁹ In other words, because of the schools that the SABMS opened in the various fields²²⁰ it received a “rent grant” from the government. Further, it was by means of such rent grants for schools that the SABMS also covered the costs of its mission and church related work. A classical example of this was the Orlando Scheme, in Soweto, in the Transvaal field, which will later be discussed. In making a recommendation on this field, the deputation proposed:

In view of the fact that part of the work supervised by Mr. Peinke was originated by other mission organisations and taken over by the S.A.B.M.S. when for one reason or another these organisations ceased to support what they had started, and that in this way the Society has become responsible for work which on account of the great distance separating its centres has proved to be an increasing embarrassment, the Deputation recommends that the rule already made be strictly adhered to that no further bodies be taken over, and no calls for work in other areas responded to, without the specific authority of the Executive having been first given. This also applies to all other Fields.²²¹

The deputation further recommended, “Mr. Peinke should continue to devote approximately half his time to the work of the European churches on the understanding that the churches continue to provide half his stipend.”²²² Furthermore, the deputation also expressed “the opinion that the taking of regular services at Umtata ought to assist more frequent visitation of the work in the Western Pondoland and Umtata circuits and would benefit the Native work rather than otherwise.”²²³

The third mission field the deputation visited was Kaffraria, which was superintended by the Rev B. Pape, and also had centres widely separated over a huge area. In this field, “these centres are in the main strung out along a line running east and west from Kingwilliamstown. From the eastern end, namely East London Native Location, to the westernmost centre, that at Pearston, the distance is more than 200 miles.”²²⁴ Indicating the scattered nature of this work, the deputation noted: “that between Pearston and Bedford there lie sixty miles of

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ See Chapter 7.

²²¹ *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 20.

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ The Kaffraria Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 21. In this deputation’s Report, Kingwilliams Town is written as a three part word: King Williams Town.

country without any S.A.B.M.S. work, and (with the exception of a small work at Adelaide) there is nothing lying between Bedford and the Middledrift district sixty miles again to the east. South of Bedford there is a small work in the neighbourhood of Riebeek East, forty or fifty miles away without any intervening centre."²²⁵ In addition to these areas, "the work at Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth is also under Mr. Pape's superintendence."²²⁶

The Kingwilliamstown area, around Berlin was more compact. According to the deputation, "to the south of the village of Berlin (fourteen miles east of Kingwilliamstown) lies the area of Tshabo, where the missionary work of the South African Baptists began under Mr. Carl Pape in 1868."²²⁷ In the country surrounding Kingwilliamstown "there are several centres within comparatively easy reach, while further to the west, in the Middledrift district, is the work taken over many years ago from the (Negro) National Baptist Convention with its centre at Buchanan (or Qanda) which has many preaching places on its plan and the largest membership recorded for any one centre in the Kaffrarian field."²²⁸ The Ennals Institute was situated at Berlin, where the missionary Superintendent also had his residence. The combined members "of the Tshabo, Kingwilliamstown and Middledrift circuits amount to about 1000, while the membership in the outlying centres (excluding Port Elizabeth) is in the neighbourhood of 1500. Mr Pape's quarterly preaching 'plan' for this whole area shows 51 regular preachers (including the superintendent and ordained ministers) serving 49 preaching places."²²⁹

While in Kaffraria, the Deputation was able to visit the main centres of this field and the following accounts, among others, which also indicate the nature of the property and the land on which it is located, "illustrate the larger problems and possibilities which lie in this field."²³⁰ At Buchanan:

The spot known as Buchanan Mission ([named] after the American Negro founder, the Rev. J. I. Buchanan, whose grave lies beside the church there) is about twenty miles west of King Williams Town, near the railway siding of Qanda in the administrative district of Middledrift. Work was begun here in 1897 by missionaries of the National Baptist Convention, a strong

²²⁵ The Kaffraria Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 21.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

Negro section of the Baptist Denomination in the U.S.A. Work was established in other centres in the Transkei and as far north as Harrismith in the O.F.S. The defection of one of the missionaries and his return to America caused many of their congregations [including their church property] to come at their own request under the wing of the S.A.B.M.S.²³¹

The cause for this movement, according to the deputation, was that "It appears that the financial support from America ceased as a result of this transference of allegiance and was not the immediate cause of it."²³² Surprisingly, it was to be noted, according to the deputation, "that the National Convention still lists Buchanan in its current missionary periodical as being one 'of its African mission stations' with a note to the effect that the work is now in charge of the British Baptists."²³³ Further, "The list gives the names of several women 'presumed' to be at work there of whom the Rev. F.H. Vockerodt knows nothing."²³⁴ Concerning the Rev Vockerodt, the deputation reported: "[He is a] Eurafican son of a former German settler, was the local leader of the Church at Buchanan at the time of the transference, and has since been given ministerial recognition by the S.A.B.M.S. He is still in charge of the district with thirteen preaching places, with buildings at five of them, twenty-six lay-preachers and a total membership of over 400."²³⁵ Currently, at the time of the deputation's visit, "[he was] aged sixty-six, [and] is supported by the circuit but supplements his income by following his own trade as a builder and handyman."²³⁶ This circuit, according to Rev Pape, superintendent of the field, "shows a larger regular increase of membership than any other in his area."²³⁷

Concerning the buildings, with the possible exception of Rev Vockerodt's house, "which was not closely inspected,"²³⁸ the set of buildings at Buchanan were "[of] no credit to the Baptist Denomination in South Africa."²³⁹ In other words, given the poor state of the buildings, it was not even worth mentioning their monetary value. But a little money, according to the deputation, "judiciously spent would put them all in tolerably good order. They would then become the best set of buildings in solely Native occupation in the whole of our rural

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23. The compactness of the area is shown, according to the *Report*, "in the fact that the Deputation visited by car and inspected all these centres between 9.30 a.m. and 10 p.m." (*Ibid.*).

²³⁹ *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 23.

work.”²⁴⁰ This means that their renovation would be befitting for natives in their rural context, and not renovation as important in itself. This renovation, the deputation further reported, ought to be seen in the light of the possibility that Buchanan might be regarded together with the Mjozi and the Tshabo district, as one of the strategic centres for developing a more concentrated work within the financial resources of the Denomination.²⁴¹

The other circuit, the Tshabo circuit, “[an] area in which our work was inaugurated [in 1868], lies to the south of Berlin.”²⁴² At this circuit, the work was organised around four centres, viz. Tshabo, Dongwe, Lower Tshabo, and Berlin. To these is added the centre at Kalana beyond Kingwilliamstown. “The four centres named serve a native area comprising five large rural ‘locations’ with a population of about 25,000.”²⁴³ This forms, according to the deputation, unlike any other area previously discussed, “a compact sphere in which it is to be specially noted our work does not infringe upon the work of any other denominational church or society.”²⁴⁴ But there is, the deputation further added, “one small exception, viz. the Lutheran school at Berlin.”²⁴⁵ This in their words means that the deputation is appreciative that the Tshabo circuit is a “compact sphere,” sadly it is not the whole space (compactness) in its entirety. Notwithstanding this, unlike the recommendations made with other fields, “The Deputations was impressed with the possibilities of developing our work more intensively in the Tshabo area.”²⁴⁶

The same field report on Kaffraria highlights, however, the denominational rivalry that characterized the occupation and establishment of these mission fields. For example, at Mkangiswana, “The church building here, seating about 200, is within three miles and in full sight of the large Methodist missionary institution of Mount Coke which since 1830 has been serving the district.”²⁴⁷ In addition, “Within half a mile of this SABMS church in another direction is a well-built Methodist chapel.”²⁴⁸ About this setting, evidence that space could be trespassed upon, as long as there was still some “unoccupied land,” the *Report* mentioned,

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 25. See Evelcigh, W. *Op. Cit.*, p. 29, for a background discussion of the Mount Coke institution amongst other Methodist institutions.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

“The Deputation understands that the sitting of our building here was purposely planned to cut in on Methodist work.”²⁴⁹ Such a practice was prevalent among missionary societies, as an attempt to gain control of both land and native converts. Therefore, the cutting in on the “mission space” of the other denominations’ mission work, redefined the term: “unoccupied land.” In other words, as long as any land was not occupied by a particular denomination, in this case the Baptists, such land, even though occupied by another denomination, in this case the Methodists, described as was “unoccupied.”

As discussed earlier, the Berkeley Street Church, in Kingwilliamstown, was the only native church located in this town. The deputation also visited it. In reporting on it, their opening statement, a comment on the “unusual location” of this church, read: “[This church] differs from the other urban churches in this field in not being situated in the Native township but in the town itself.”²⁵⁰ The tone is one of surprise, that the church was actually situated in a (European) town. Further, the location of this church redefined the “mission space.” That is, mission among the natives as not only “mission space” in a native residential allotment, but as mission among the natives in a “European space.” This church, which was a creation of space within a (European) space, would be a clearly defined space, consistent with the Native Land Act of 1913 and Native Urban Areas Act of 1936, which defined the “categories” of natives allowed to be present (mainly as servants) within European space. The deputation added, “The church, with its more than 150 members, serves domestic servants and other town employees resident in King Williams Town.”²⁵¹ This was because, in this area, “We have no following in the Native Location and have no building there.”²⁵² Reporting on how this church “used to be,” before it was purchased for “native use,” the deputation wrote:

The Berkeley Street church was once a handsome building erected as a garrison church by the Methodists when the town was the key point for the defence of the Border territories. It was purchased and presented to the Society by Mr. T. Burnham King and has since been used by our native congregation. The building still retains something of its former glory. The solidly built stonewalls; the lofty windows and spacious gallery, together with an imposing front of undressed stone, give the church an air of dignity, which many of our European churches do not possess. The fabric has, however, been allowed to fall into a dilapidated condition. The laths of a fine plaster ceiling glare at once through two patches, which were long ago caused

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

by a leaky roof. The windows are extremely dingy and the walls exhibit the grime of countless years. The vestry and back quarters have an appearance not far removed from squalor. But structurally the building appeared to be sound. The expenditure through the years of its use of a modest annual sum for minor repairs, cleaning and, perhaps, distemping, would have prevented this fine church from falling into its present melancholy state.²⁵³

There is no doubt that this description of the “melancholy state” of this property, affirmed the SABMS’s “European guidance of the natives” in light of their “stored experience”²⁵⁴ in terms of controlling and supervising native work, property and land. The only recommendation the deputation made regarding the Berkeley Street Church in Kingwilliamstown was that: “[the church] be repaired and renovated and maintained in good order.”²⁵⁵ But in striking and “gratifying” contrast to the Berkeley Street Church was the new church in the Native Location at Bedford, about 90 miles west of Kingwilliamstown. Here a “commodious church” seating 200 was built by the Society in 1941 at a cost of £250 and designated “The Jubilee Church” with reference to the Society’s Jubilee in 1942.²⁵⁶ Constructed of burnt brick and iron roof, with plaster cast exterior and whitewashed interior the church had, according to the deputation, “an attractive appearance second to none in the Bedford location.”²⁵⁷ Further, “Its strategic site is not an unimportant asset.”²⁵⁸ The scheme was incomplete in that “a ceiling will be necessary, and a wooden floor to replace the present earth one would be a most desirable improvement.”²⁵⁹ (Provision for ventilation of a floor had been made in the structure of the walls). Continuing with the description of this church, the deputation wrote: “Furniture is at present most meagre, consisting only of broken benches brought from the old temporary building. But the fine pulpit, which once graced the [European] Cambridge Baptist Church, East London, and which was the gift of that church, sets a standard that it is hoped will not be ignored when seats are provided.”²⁶⁰ About the

²⁵³ *Ibid.* Mr Burnham King, who purchased this building, is the same one who from April 1894 to October 1904 was the chairman of the SABMS. From 1904 onwards, the president of the BU was appointed chairman of the SABMS. Messrs T. B. King and T. H. Grocott were the only BU presidents who were never ministers. Further, about the relation between the BU and SABMS officers, from 1925, the BU Executive and the SABMS Committee were merged into one Joint Executive Committee though with the BU and SABMS retaining their respective secretaries and treasurers. (See Past Chairmen, Secretaries and Treasurers, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 93. See also Volume Three (Appendices), the document entitled: Table of BU and SABMS officers.)

²⁵⁴ See Chapter 4.

²⁵⁵ Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations, p. 30.

²⁵⁶ The Society, the SABMS, was established in 1892. (See Chapter 4.).

²⁵⁷ Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations, p. 25.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

funds necessary to complete this church, the deputation hoped that "It might be possible to get the Native community at Bedford interested in raising funds for seating in the church."²⁶¹

Finally, in this Kaffrarian field report, it was remarked of the church in the East London location, "at which our ablest native minister, the Rev. S. Mashologu, is at work," that it was "an extremely poor building, inadequate for even the most elementary purpose of housing a congregation."²⁶² Moreover, "Its setting is one of the worst slums the Deputation has seen, opposite a dilapidated beer hall with its 'sights and sounds and shrieks unholy' [which] left a decidedly unpleasant impression on the minds of the Deputation."²⁶³ As it appears, according to the deputation, "that there is now no longer any shortage of funds preventing the erection of a building more adequate for its purpose and in keeping with the high standards and traditions of our Denomination, more need not be said about the existing building. An amount of over £500 stands earmarked for this purpose in the S.A.B.M.S. Jubilee Fund."²⁶⁴ While in East London, the deputation visited "The site of the proposed new church adjoining Mr. Mashologu's house ... [and were] favourably impressed by its size and position. It was understood that the township authorities have already secured this site for our use."²⁶⁵ In making a recommendation concerning the East London location, the deputation wrote: "In view of the funds in hand locally the Deputation is of the opinion that it is desirable that a new church building should be erected in the East London location as soon as possible, and that the site adjoining Mr. Mashologu's house be utilised."²⁶⁶

The last mission field the deputation visited was that of the Transvaal. But unlike the above fields, here the deputation never recorded specific findings about the lands that the centres here occupied. Nonetheless, the deputation's description of the geographical vastness, of the area is worth discussing. The Transvaal, to start with, "[is] the largest and in some ways the most important of the S.A.B.M.S. fields in South Africa. Centering in the Union's largest city, Johannesburg, the work extends through the Native townships of the Reef to outlying places such as Kimberley, 300 miles to the Southwest, and Sekukuniland, 260 miles to the Northeast; and from Pietersburg and Potgietersrust in the north to the boundary of the Orange Free State and the Cape Province in the south. There is work at both Maritzburg and Durban

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 26

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 30.

and in some rural districts in Natal.”²⁶⁷ There are “over 40 church centres ... listed in this area with a total membership of over four thousand. These are served by eighteen ordained ministers, about twelve lay pastors and evangelists and 180 other lay preachers. Some centres are under the charge of a senior deacon, while one (i.e. at Potchefstroom) has since the death of the pastor been ministered to by one of the women leaders (the widow of the deceased minister).”²⁶⁸

The impossibility of supervising such a widespread work, according to the deputation, “which now includes schools as well as churches, and has the important Millard Institute at its centre, without European assistance, will be at once apparent.”²⁶⁹ The problem was, however, “eased a little by the availability of the services of local ministers of European Churches for the oversight of certain town churches such as e.g. the work at Durban by the Rev. W. Morrow Cook, the work at Maritzburg by the Rev. H. Herringshaw, and that at Kimberley by the Rev. H. Bowley.”²⁷⁰ Further, “The Revs. A. H. Chapman, J. Walker and W. Edmunds give valuable assistance in the Reef towns, where also members of local European churches conduct Sunday school work. Mrs. A. H. Chapman assists the Bantu B.W.A. movement of which Mrs. Eriksson is the President, and the important work of the Rev. Thomas Chapman at the Millard Institute has already received notice.”²⁷¹ Interestingly, in light of the earlier argument about the English character of the BU,²⁷² the deputation wrote, concerning the Afrikaans churches’ missionary work: “The missionary sphere of the Afrikaanse Baptiste Vereeniging in the Orange Free State, falls within the area of the field under review. The Rev. J. H. G. Raubenheimer, supported partly by the Society and partly by the Afrikaans-speaking churches, lives at Frankfort, O.F.S. and is of some assistance to Mr. Eriksson, and might be able to undertake more than he is doing at present. The Rev. P. J. Raubenheimer is also associated with the Society and is working in the Transvaal.”²⁷³ In other words, Afrikaans mission work, among the Afrikaners, undertaken by these Afrikaans ministers, fell under the SABMS’s charge.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁷ The Transvaal Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 36.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² See Chapter 2.

²⁷³ *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 36.

²⁷⁴ The scope of this responsibility seems not to have been clearly defined. There were Afrikaner charges that fell directly under the BU, while the mission work, which was initiated by Mr P. J. Raubenheimer, fell under the SABMS. (See SABMS. 1926. *Memory Reminders*. Cape Town: C. Blackshaw & Sons, pp. 190-191.).

Pertaining the size of the field, the deputation observed concerning Rev Eriksson's oversight of this field that "The places in the surrounding country reached from these centres are inaccessible to him in the time he has available. A rough calculation shows that more than 5,500 miles of travel would be necessary in order to visit each main centre once, and this does not make allowance for travelling between the Reef towns from Krugersdorp to Springs, and to Pretoria."²⁷⁵ The deputation, tapping the sympathies of the readers of this *Report*, interjected, with a conspicuous Euro-paternalism: "We have to visualise poorly educated pastors, helped by lay-evangelists and deacons who seldom see the European missionary and hundreds of ordinary church members who never see him. The position would not be eased very much by an increased car allowance, for the time factor is involved also."²⁷⁶

Reporting further on their visits to the different centres, the Deputation added that it was unable to visit many of the centres lying outside the circle of Reef towns and Pretoria. One such place not visited was Potchefstroom,²⁷⁷ where Mrs. Ndala²⁷⁸ "[occupied] a Kimberley brick manse adjoining the church, which is in a damp and rather dilapidated condition."²⁷⁹ The deputation attended services at Springs, Germiston, Eastern Township (George Goch)²⁸⁰ and Atteridgeville (Pretoria).²⁸¹ Atteridgeville, unlike other native churches started by the SABMS missionaries, local European churches that handed it over to the SABMS, started this work. Reporting on this church, the deputation wrote, "[this church] built with generous help from the local European churches, is the best Native church under the Society's care. It has a handsome appearance and occupies a prominent site, strategically situated. The church has three out-posts in the surrounding district and has preaching places in the Pretoria municipal area. The Rev. A. Sekase [sic] is a Pastor and his wife is a women's leader of

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

²⁷⁷ About this the Potchefstroom church, see the discussion under the section "Native women agents"

²⁷⁸ About Mrs Ndala, see the discussion under the section "Native women agents."

²⁷⁹ The deputation immediately recommended, "In view of the fact that the people themselves are shouldering the work of the enlargement of the church it might be recommended that the Society offer some help towards renovating the manse." (*Ibid.*, p. 37.).

²⁸⁰ At these areas "[the churches] are well-built brick buildings with iron roofs, holding from 100 to 150 people each. They seem to be maintained in good repair by the people themselves. At all these places Sunday School work is carried on with help from the European Churches. Two outstations are supervised from Springs, and no less than twelve, including some of the Reef Townships, from Germiston. At this last place one of our most capable ministers, the Rev. Elias Mabena, lives and he attempts to work that large area single-handed. Some of his outposts are from 60 to 80 miles away. Travelling within the Reef area is considerable. But he manages to visit every centre at least once a quarter, travelling by bicycle to near-by centres and by train to those further away. Two more ministers would not be an unreasonable addition here. The Eastern Township has a manse but no minister at present. This is also under the already over-loaded Elias Mabena." (*Ibid.*, p. 37.).

²⁸¹ Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations, p. 37.

more than usual character. A larger Sunday School work is carried on here by young people from the Pretoria Central (European) Church.”²⁸²

Another interesting aspect in the deputation’s report concerning the Transvaal field concerns a school built by a native chief. As discussed before,²⁸³ in the Transvaal, there was a school at Chief Molepo’s Location, in Pietersburg, built by the chief and his people. After building the school, the chief handed it, including its ownership, over to the SABMS. In this Report, appeared, also in Pietersburg, an interesting contrast to Chief Molepo’s “decision,”²⁸⁴ by another native chief. This time it was at Mogano’s Location, 30 miles east of Pietersburg. According to the *Report*, “Here, however, the Chief [Mogano] himself is erecting the school, a large building nearly 80 ft. long and 22 ft. wide. The value is reckoned to be £400, but the building will belong to the tribe. It is, however, upon our Society that, at the Chief’s request, the management of the school will fall.”²⁸⁵ This means that the chief and the tribe maintained ownership of both the school and the land on which it was built. Clearly, the chief wished to limit the extent of the SABMS’s involvement in mission among his people. Further, it would not be a far-fetched idea that the chief would have known about the problems the other chiefs in the Transvaal faced regarding missionaries’ claims over native land and property.²⁸⁶

In view of the size of the work in this field, compared to the other fields, the deputation observed that because of “the impossibility of one man [Rev D. Eriksson] exercising adequate supervision over the whole of such a wide-spread field [it] recommends that as soon as possible a well-trained Native minister should be appointed to assist [Rev] Eriksson.”²⁸⁷ Three recommendations, in particular, merit specific mention. The first one, occurred when the deputation recorded, concerning the mission fields and their related spheres (particularly those initiated by bodies not related to the BU) which it had acquired over the years that: “when for one reason or another these organizations ceased to support what they started, the Society has become responsible for work which on account of the great distance separating its centres has proved to be an increasing embarrassment.”²⁸⁸ As a result, the deputation recommended, “that the rule already made be strictly adhered to that no further bodies be

²⁸² *Ibid.* The correct spelling of Rev Sekase’s surname is Sekese.

²⁸³ See Chapter 5.

²⁸⁴ See earlier sections and Chapter 7 wherein I question if this was his decision or not.

²⁸⁵ *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 41.

²⁸⁶ See Lagden, G. Y. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 67-68.

²⁸⁷ *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 43.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

taken over, and no calls for work in other areas responded to, without the specific authority of the Executive having been first given.”²⁸⁹ It further added, “This also applies to all fields.”²⁹⁰

Secondly, the deputation recommended, “that regular visitation of each of the mission fields by officials of the Society should be seriously considered. The plan and frequency of such official visits would be a matter for the Executive to decide, but the Deputation have been impressed during this tour with the great value that such regular visitation would have both for the European and Bantu workers.”²⁹¹ Thirdly, the deputation called for a “special attention of the Executive to a fact mentioned more than once in the report; viz. that properties belonging to the Society are being allowed to fall into a state bordering on dilapidation. It may be necessary to endeavour to raise a substantial capital sum to put these in order.”²⁹² To this it added, “The estimated costs of the various financial proposals, contained in this Report and Recommendations of the Deputation to the S.A.B.M.S. Fields are recommended to the [SABMS] Executive for consideration. As the urgent items amount to £500 the [Deputation] Committee asks that these be given immediate attention.”²⁹³ To authenticate and confirm the value and of this *Report*, a note was added on the last page of the *Report* that: “At the SABMS Executive Meetings held at Port Elizabeth, June 1944, this Report and Recommendations as amended, were accepted and passed by the Executive.”²⁹⁴

Clearly the land and the property on it did matter to the SABMS. Without land, or leasing it, churches cannot be built. Natives, politically, were deprived access to the land. In the church, in this case, the Baptist Church, they were further deprived of the same. This meant that in the case of the native workers under the SABMS, they had to “sell” their labour twice. That is, besides being SABMS workers, they also had to undertake other jobs in order to make a living. In the case of their European counterparts, particularly concerning those who held double jobs, their jobs provided the necessary living remuneration. As shown above, nearly all native ministers undertook other work than the ministry. Some, besides being ministers, school teachers (or administrators), also had to till their lands and/ or keep livestock in order to make a living. Clearly, the connection between land and labour as earlier presented in the 1913 Land Act is even confirmed, by these examples. That is, depriving the natives of access

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

to and ownership of land, including that of the church, would perpetually ensure that they traded their labour for subsistence purposes.²⁹⁵

8.3. Funds for European ministers (1927-1944)

While the SABMS continued with mission work amongst the natives, founding new churches and establishing day and Sunday schools,²⁹⁶ it did not negate its commitment to care for its European workers, just as the BU catered for its European ministers. Furthermore, the SABMS's European workers also benefited from the BU funds. From 1927 onwards, the BU, the SABMS included, continued strengthening the funds it had established for its ministers. The following discussion of these funds,²⁹⁷ post-1927, demonstrates the commitment of the European-led bodies to providing for the needs of European workers while their native counterparts were left to fend for themselves, even though they had worked for the benefit of these European-led bodies. The latter aspect, the sacrifice the native workers made for the benefit of the SABMS, and subsequently the BU, will be further discussed with the 1944 Missionary Survey below.

8.3.1. BU reclaiming control of the Pension Fund (1927)

The year 1927, as noted in Chapter 5, saw the SABMS (and the BU) exerting direct control over native mission work through the Bantu Baptist Church.²⁹⁸ Furthermore, 1927 was the Jubilee year for the BU, which was formed in 1877. As a result, another fund, the Jubilee Fund, was formed to raise more capital for the Baptist Union. Furthermore, a new Sustentation and Trust Fund, also for the European ministers and missionaries, as we shall point out below, was also formed. Concerning the Pension Fund, which had had its own committee since its inception, the BU Assembly of 1927 resolved: "That this Assembly requests the Executive of the Union in consultation with the Pension Fund Committee to consider the revision of the Constitution of the Pension Fund with a view to bringing the management of the Fund more directly under the control of the Executive of the Baptist Union of South Africa, and to report to the next Assembly."²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ See earlier sections on the connection between land and labour.

²⁹⁶ See Chapter 7.

²⁹⁷ Not all the funds presented in Chapter 6 are further discussed in this chapter. Only "major" funds are discussed here.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1927-1928*, p. 34.

On a somewhat different note, however, the same assembly reversed, on the one hand, its earlier resolution concerning "the offer to the Pension Fund of a 20% share in the insurance scheme being organized for the benefit of the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society's funds, [which] the Rev C. Garratt intimated to the Assembly that the offer is now withdrawn."³⁰⁰ On the other hand, in the same assembly, the Rev C. Garratt reported and submitted a plan for raising a Jubilee Fund of £3,500. The assembly decided unanimously, that it "hereby resolves that a special Jubilee Fund be raised to augment the Capital of the Baptist Union Pension Fund, in order to meet the deficiency revealed in the Actuarial report submitted at the 1926 Assembly."³⁰¹ As to whom this fund would benefit, it was clearly stated, "[The] Jubilee Fund be not less than £3,500, any monies raised over that amount to be placed to an Emergency Fund which may be used for meeting the necessity of any [European] Minister, Missionary, or Minister's or Missionary's widow at the discretion of the Committee controlling the Pension Fund."³⁰² As with the Pension Fund when it was formed, there was enthusiasm among fellow Europeans attending this assembly to the extent that, before the assembly adjourned, "altogether gifts and promises amounting to £1,303 were announced in Assembly to start the Fund."³⁰³

Following on the previous year's decision to augment the finances of the Pension Fund, the 1928 BU Assembly resolved that "the Executive [of the Pension Fund] be asked to see what steps can be taken to bring all Churches, Ministers, and Missionaries as members with a view to the permanent stability of the Fund."³⁰⁴ This step paid off, since by the end of the financial period from 1st July 1927 to 30th June 1928, the total revenue was £17,809.13s.2d., with assets valued at £17,268.12s.11d.³⁰⁵ compared to the previous financial period, in which its revenue was £16,524.10s.1d. while its assets were £16,073.18s.3d.³⁰⁶ Also worth comparing between these two years are the contributions made. That is, by the end of the financial period until 30th July 1927 contributions were: ministers £153.10s.4d., churches £106.10s.,

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Ibid., p. 35. According to the minutes, the first contribution to the Fund was one of £100 from Mr A. E. Lacey, Biddeford, England, through "our Life President who also promised £50 on behalf of himself and Mrs Batts. Among other gifts was a sum of £150 from the B.W.A., and £100 from an anonymous donor." (Ibid.).

³⁰⁴ Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 23.

³⁰⁵ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1927, to 30th June, 1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 41.

³⁰⁶ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1926, to 30th June, 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 59.

and wives' £79.19s.,³⁰⁷ while by the end of the financial period until 30th July 1928 contributions had increased to: ministers £333.9s.4d., churches £102.5s., and wives £92.13s..³⁰⁸ There is therefore no doubt that steps to bring churches, and particularly ministers and missionaries, into the fund were paying off.

To follow up on the earlier intention to bring the Pension Fund under the management of the BU Executive, and "with a view to keeping the Pension Fund in touch with the [BU] Executive,"³⁰⁹ the 1929 BU Assembly resolved that "one of the Trustees shall be the President of the [Baptist] Union for the time being."³¹⁰ The relationship between the Pension Fund and the Emergency Fund had been precarious, and this year (1929) was no better, as the Assembly resolved that "the Emergency Fund be dissociated from the Pension Fund, and its administration in future be in the hands of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer of the [Baptist] Union."³¹¹ But for the first time in the history of the Pension Fund, this year a shift occurred in the type of investment assets the fund was putting its money into. Unlike the previous years during which investments were put into bank accounts, this year, out of the total assets value of £17,719.12s.3d., an amount of £6,500 was invested in government loans, while £2,500 was in municipal loans, compared to £325.8s.4d. deposited in the banks. Most of the amount of the total assets value was comprised of loans to churches on first mortgage.³¹² The investment in loans to the South African government went parallel with the BU's support of this government.³¹³

There is no doubt that the success of the Pension Fund was due to its management and the contributions by European Baptists. In 1930, for the first time, there is a record of a bequest to the fund. This bequest was a legacy from the estate of Mr J. H. Biggs.³¹⁴ Also, Mr A. R. Perks "made a provision in his will whereby in due time our Baptist Union, the Pension

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1927, to 30th June, 1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 41.

³⁰⁹ Minutes of 1929 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 27.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid. Also during this Assembly, Rev E. Baker and Messrs T. Riemer and J. Haslop were appointed members of the Pension Fund Management Committee. Furthermore, Mr R. A. Eales was appointed a Trustee of the Pension Fund in place of Mr W. Stanley Clarke, who resigned.

³¹² Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1928, to 30th June, 1929, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 50.

³¹³ See Chapter 9.

³¹⁴ See *Obituary of Mr James Hobson Biggs*, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 17.

Fund, and the Missionary Society will receive considerable help.”³¹⁵ During the session of the 1930 BU Assembly, the Secretary-Treasurer of the fund, Mr T. Riemer, reported: “the capital of the Fund is now over £20,000.”³¹⁶ It is worth noting that the minutes further reported that: “After interesting discussions the Report and Statement were adopted.”³¹⁷ Also reported was that from “the will of the late Mr James H. Biggs, the Pension Fund would eventually receive £500, and by the will of the late Mr Arthur R. Perks another £500 would eventually be paid to the Fund.”³¹⁸

In 1932, the Fund reported that the newly acquired revenue “for the year amounted to £1,506.0s.10d., of which £1,048.17s.10d. is derived from interest. The expenditure was £1,147.14s.8d., of which £1,143.18s.10d was paid in pensions. The capital of the Fund is now £21,181.3s.5d.”³¹⁹ In the two years prior to this report, the fund was still investing in the Union Government Loans (£6,500) and the Municipal Loans (£2,500), respectively.³²⁰ The same loan amounts were also invested in 1932.³²¹ In 1933 with the revision and adoption of the new BU Constitution, under Clause 10 of its By-Laws, which also addressed the management of the fund, it stipulated: “The Baptist Union Pension Fund established by the Union in October, 1910, shall be managed in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution thereof.”³²² Also at this (1932) Assembly, “the present Pension Fund Committee [was] reappointed.”³²³ The amounts invested in the Union Government Loans and the Municipal Loans were the same as during the previous year.

Regarding the management of the Pension Fund, in 1934, during the “Joint Union and Missionary Session,” appeared for the first time a clear distinction between the trustees of the Pension Fund, Baptist Union and the SABMS, respectively. That is, it was resolved by the Assembly that “Messrs Francis Shepard, Frank Edward Blackwell, David William Rossiter,

³¹⁵ *Obituary of Mr Arthur Ryder Perks*, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, pp. 17-18.

³¹⁶ Minutes of 1930 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 22.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23. This Assembly also passed a special vote of thanks to Mr S. Haslop who had acted as an Auditor of the Pension Fund for 15 consecutive years. (*Ibid.*, p. 23.).

³¹⁹ Joint Executive Reports to the Annual Assembly at Pietermaritzburg, September 15th to 21st, 1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, pp. 8-9.

³²⁰ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1929, to 30th June, 1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 39. See also: Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1930, to 30th June, 1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 50.

³²¹ Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1931, to 30th June, 1932, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 54.

³²² Constitution and By-Laws of the Baptist Union of South Africa as revised and adopted at the Annual Assembly held in Durban, 20th September, 1933, in BU Handbook of 1933-1934, p. 43.

³²³ Minutes of 1933 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 27.

Henry Schmidt, Robert Arthur Eales, and Gabriel Watson, in his capacity as President of the Baptist Union of South Africa, be appointed the Trustees of the Baptist Union Pension Fund.”³²⁴ Concerning the Baptist Union Trustees, it was resolved: “That Pastor Gabriel Watson in his capacity as President, Mr Henry Schmidt in his capacity as Treasurer, and the Rev Thomas Aitken in his capacity as Secretary, having been duly elected to their respective offices, be the Trustees of the Union.”³²⁵ Lastly, regarding the SABMS Trustees it was resolved: “That Pastor Gabriel Watson in his capacity as Chairman, Mr Ernest Victor Baker in his capacity as Treasurer, and the Rev Henry Guyton Thomas in his capacity as Secretary, having been duly elected to their respective offices, be the Trustees of the South African Baptist Missionary Society in accordance with Rule IV of the Constitution.”³²⁶ Therefore, the president of the BU was, by virtue of his position, the only person who could be a trustee of all three bodies simultaneously. Besides him, only the treasurer of the BU, by virtue of his position, could also serve as a trustee of the Pension Fund.

The Assembly also recalled historically, as earlier discussed, that “the Pension Fund came into being largely as the result of a contribution made by Mr Riemer’s honoured father, who had the vision of some fund which might help his brethren in the Ministry, and it is specially fitting and gratifying that the vision has been so splendidly fulfilled largely through the self-sacrificing labours of the Rev E. P. Riemer’s equally honoured and beloved son.”³²⁷ But preceding this reminder was an appreciation by the Assembly recording “its deep gratitude for ... the service rendered by Mr Theo Riemer as Secretary-Treasurer of the Baptist Union Pension Fund for an unbroken period of twenty-five years ... [He] has conducted the affairs of the Fund with an attention to the interest of its members which has made them greatly his debtors, ... with a generosity which has led him always to refuse the slightest financial recognition, even the incidental costs of the work being treated as a personal donation.”³²⁸

In 1935, for the first time in the history of the Pension Fund, there is clarity as to the duration of the term of the Committee of Management of the fund. That is, the new committee appointed at this assembly was “for the ensuing three years.”³²⁹ But after the establishment of the Jubilee Fund in 1927, in order to augment the Pension Fund, which by 1924 was reported

³²⁴ Minutes of 1934 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 29.

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 28.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid., p. 29

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Minutes of 1935 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1935-1936, p. 57.

to have reached its completion by achieving the targeted revenue of £13,000,³³⁰ the zeal until 1937 was not the same. For a start, at the 1936 BU Assembly, the fund's "capital amounts [amounted] to £21,042.0s.0d. compared with £21,299 at June 30th, 1935."³³¹ Furthermore, in terms of investments, in particular government and municipal loans, there is a drop since 1934 from the constant £6,500 (government loans) and £2,500 (municipal loans) respectively, to £5,600 (government loans) and £2,000 (municipal loans) respectively.³³² Secondly, in 1937, "some anxiety was expressed in view of the fact that disbursements were exceeding receipts, ... [even though] it was explained that this was expected to right itself within the next few years."³³³ But as will later be observed, a turn occurred in the following year, 1938, when the BU secured the services of a legal firm,³³⁴ and in 1939, when changes were made to the fund to provide for younger men to be able to join the fund.³³⁵

8.3.2. BU's Sustentation and Trust Fund

The Sustentation Fund, which was established in 1916,³³⁶ was during this period already in existence. Most of the fund's capital was in the form of loans³³⁷ on mortgage, churches, the BU and the book depot; each charged at a different rate of interest.³³⁸ The trustees of the fund were the BU president, the secretary and the treasurer, "having been duly elected to their respective offices, the Trustees of the Union in accordance with Rule VIII of the Constitution."³³⁹ The BU office bearers, who were also its trustees and also the trustees of this fund, were all European males. This remained the case even after 1944. By 1931, out of

³³⁰ Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 2.

³³¹ Joint Executive Reports to the Annual Assembly at Pretoria, October 14th to 21st, 1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 10.

³³² Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1933, to 30th July, 1934, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 55. Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1934, to 30th July, 1935, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 50. Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1935, to 30th July, 1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 46. Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1st July, 1936, to 30th July, 1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 53.

³³³ Minutes of 1937 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 70.

³³⁴ Minutes of 1938 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 71.

³³⁵ Minutes of 1939 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 74.

³³⁶ See Chapter 6.

³³⁷ See Baptist Union Sustentation and Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 47; Baptist Union Sustentation and Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1929, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 48; and Baptist Union Sustentation and Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 46.

³³⁸ Ibid. The loan interest percentages were: mortgage (8% and 7% respectively); churches (5%); BU (5%); and the book depot (5%).

³³⁹ Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 25.

the fund's total assets worth £3,616.4s.10d., an amount of £3,571.14s.0d. was in the form of loans to churches. Thus, in the following year, this fund reported an accrued interest of £271.10s.6d., reflected under receipts in the BU's treasurer's statement.³⁴⁰ As the fund's assets increased, it was decided in 1933,³⁴¹ when the BU Constitution was being revised, that according to part of By-Law 9:

Unless otherwise expressly directed by the creator of any trust the Executive shall invest the trust fund to the best advantage, either in Government or Municipal Stocks of the Union of South Africa or of any British possession or Dominion in South Africa or on fixed deposit in any well accredited Bank or on first mortgage of immovable urban property situate within South Africa.³⁴²

Clearly, the BU was not intent on investing in any immovable property on the land, except that which was in "urban" areas. And, in such areas, only Europeans were allowed to reside. Since the BU, (subsequently the SABMS) was intent on investing in urban areas, this factor would explain the dilapidated conditions found by the missionary deputation in 1944. Yearly, as the fund earned interest, it was transferred to the BU general account³⁴³ from which other BU funds could be assisted. In subsequent years, the only reports about the fund were those the total assets, the amount that went into loans and that which was in the form of bank deposits. It was only in 1945 that the BU Executive in its *Report*, "In consultation with the Trust Fund Treasurer ... have had consideration of the possibility of making Trust Funds more advantageously available for the development of our work and, in this connection, contemplate giving Notice of Motion to amend By-Law 9."³⁴⁴ The amended motion, which became a new clause, (e), of this by-law, was approved as follows during the assembly: "The rate of interest to be charged on loans shall be decided by the Executive in consultation with the Trust Funds Treasurer and any financial Committee that may be appointed."³⁴⁵

³⁴⁰ Baptist Union Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure from 1st July 1931 to 30th June 1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 47.

³⁴¹ See Chapter 7.

³⁴² BU Constitution and By-Laws of 1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, pp. 42-43. For a complete By-Law No. 9, see Volume Three (Appendices), the document entitled: 1933 BU Constitution.

³⁴³ According to the Joint Executive Reports, "The Sustentation and Trust Fund Treasurer has forwarded £205.1s.0d. to BU funds, being the amount of interest earned." (In BU Handbook for 1935-1936, p. 8.). See also Baptist Union Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure from 1st July 1936 to 30th June 1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 48.

³⁴⁴ BU Executive Reports for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, pp. 3-4.

³⁴⁵ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1956, pp. 67-68.

From the following year (1946) onwards, the BU treasurer's statement of expenditure and revenue kept reflecting the interest accrued from the BU's Sustentation and Trust Fund, but the decision about the amount would remain the prerogative of the BU Executive. Also from 1946 onwards, the fund reflected new sources of income besides the interest accrued through the loans. One such contribution, for example, came in 1948, when "Rev John Russell made provision in his will for the payment to the Baptist Union Trust Funds of 7½% of the residue of his estate, and for a similar payment to the SABMS."³⁴⁶ As mentioned above, interest from the Sustentation and Trust Fund was transferred into the BU's General Account from which expenses such as the Ministerial Education Committee, the Emergency Fund, "special churches' assistance," and office administration, for example, were met. (Interesting to note under the list of expenditure is the BU's annual subscription of £5 each to the Institute of Race Relations and the Christian Council of South Africa, which it joined in 1944 and 1945 respectively.).³⁴⁷

8.3.3. Formation of the Special Central Extension Fund

During the 1939 BU Assembly, a "Scheme for Extension" was presented to the Assembly by the BU secretary, Mr Oldrieve. He pointed out: "[that] at the last Assembly consideration had been given to a Scheme for Ministerial Settlement, Sustentation and Extension ... but, in light of the replies from the Churches, ... the Executive considered that it was not the time to bring such a comprehensive scheme ... before the Denomination."³⁴⁸ Thus, the BU Executive recommended the adoption of a modified scheme. This scheme, which was to "extend the European side of the work of the Denomination,"³⁴⁹ was to raise the total sum of £5000, "if possible within the next five years."³⁵⁰ This sum, as it became available, was to be used "for purpose of securing sites, the purchasing or erecting of buildings, the granting of loans for Extension work free of interest or otherwise, and, or, contributing to the salaries of pioneer

³⁴⁶ Executive Reports for the year 1947-1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 27.

³⁴⁷ See Baptist Union Treasurer's Statement of Revenue and Expenditure from 1st July 1943 to 30th June 1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 46; Baptist Union Treasurer's Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ended 30th June 1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 48; Baptist Union Treasurer's Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ended 30th June 1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 40; Baptist Union Treasurer's Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ended 30th June 1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 68; and Baptist Union Treasurer's Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ended 30th June 1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 71.

³⁴⁸ Minutes of 1939 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 75.

³⁴⁹ Ibid. For the full objectives of this scheme, see also Volume Three (Appendices), the document entitled: Special Central Extension Fund (1939).

³⁵⁰ Minutes of 1939 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 75.

workers approved by the Executive.”³⁵¹ The scheme was adopted by the assembly and an amount of £1056 was immediately promised for the first year. It was noted during the same Assembly “that the present Baptist Union Trust Fund shall not be affected in any way.”³⁵² Further, that “gifts and bequests to the present trust funds will continue to be added to these funds held in trust, and are earnestly invited.”³⁵³

Two years later, by the end of August 1941, promises received amounted to £3,640, while the amount paid in was £2,275.³⁵⁴ By the end of 1942, the third year of the Fund’s existence, the Treasurer had already received £3,000.³⁵⁵ Some of the contributions into this fund came in the form of, for example, the BU president donating the amount “voted towards presidential expenses”³⁵⁶ and a donation of £500, “some years ago ... by anonymous friends who expressed the desire that the interest should be used for extension purposes.”³⁵⁷ The anonymous friends made “a further gift of £500 ... for the same purpose.”³⁵⁸ By the time the Assembly of 1942 closed, promises received had amounted to £3,972.11s.2d. To reach the £5000 mark, it was resolved, “that, in regard to the Extension Fund, the Assembly requests the Officers concerned to make a special appeal to individuals and Churches for donations and subscriptions to complete the amount of approximately £1,100 still needed to reach the £5,000 aimed at.”³⁵⁹

The following year, 30th September 1943, the fund had received donations to the value of £4,376.10s.2d. The interest earned on this amount was £256.17s.10d. The total fund’s revenue including repayment of loan and refund of petties was £4,736.4s.8d.³⁶⁰ From this amount the following grants, which also serve to indicate the property value of the European churches over against that of the natives, a factor earlier mentioned,³⁶¹ were made:

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Executive Reports for 1940-1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 5.

³⁵⁵ Executive Reports for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 5.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.* This was also done by the president in the preceding year.

³⁵⁷ Executive Reports for 1940-1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 5.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁵⁹ Minutes of 1942 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, pp. 60-61. In the same year, the following ministerial stipend grants, which came out of the BU Sustentation and Trust Fund, to the total value of £751 were awarded to the ministers of the following European churches: Bethel-Belfast (£48), Berlin (£25), Durban’s Afrikaans Church (£50), Excelsior’s Afrikaans Church (£36), Cradock (£36), Parow’s Afrikaans Church (£40), Sydenham (£30), Rosettenville (£48), and Florida (£48).

³⁶⁰ Baptist Union Extension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure to 30th September 1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 55.

³⁶¹ See Chapter 6.

Roodepoort (£200), Parys (£50), Dunnottar (£280), and Rosettenville (£264).³⁶² By the close of the same year's Assembly, the fund's commissioner, Rev C. Garratt, "reported promises received amounting to £5,092."³⁶³ Thus, the targeted £5000 was achieved within four years. One of the reasons among others for the fund's success, was that, "since the initial cost for printing, etc, the Fund has been run without any administrative expenses."³⁶⁴ By 30th September 1944, the fund's total revenue, including promised money, was £5,587.13s.7d.³⁶⁵ But before the completion of the fund's fifth year, even though it had reached and exceeded the targeted £5000, the BU Executive reported that "it is already evident that the administration of the fund is going to be no easy task."³⁶⁶ This the executive commended after having "carefully and sympathetically" examined all suggestions from all associations on "how best to administer the fund."³⁶⁷

At the same year's Assembly, 1944, the treasurer, Mr M. A. Arnold, "showed that the fund was within a few pounds of completion,"³⁶⁸ besides the promised money. As a result, the Assembly "quickly raised the required sum and brought the total amount received up to the £5000 aimed at, apart from the interest earned, and it was decided that the fund be closed."³⁶⁹ In the same year, the grants made were: £300 to Border Baptist Association for extension work in the Transkei, £500 to Primrose Afrikaans Baptiste Kerk towards the cost of the building, £500 to Southern Rhodesia for extension work in Gwelo-Somabula district, £250 towards the establishment of new work in Port Shepstone, £500 to the German Bund towards the cost of a building to be erected at Umtata.³⁷⁰

Even though the fund was officially closed during the 1944 BU Assembly, the serving BU treasurer in 1945 "had received sums during the year, amounting in all to £55.14s.6d., and

³⁶² Baptist Union Extension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure to 30th September 1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 55.

³⁶³ Minutes of 1943 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 71.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁵ Baptist Union Extension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure to 30th September 1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 53.

³⁶⁶ [BU] Executive Reports for 1943-1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 5.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁸ Minutes of 1944 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 63.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.* In closing the fund, the Assembly placed "on record, its heartfelt thanks to God for the completion of the Fund; it desire[d] also to express its gratitude to the Commissioners and the Treasurer of the Fund, and to every giver." (*Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.).

³⁷⁰ Executive Reports for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 4. This fund's allocations amounted to £2,050, while the previous grants, according to the *Report*, amounted to £2,694. (*Ibid.*).

interest amounting to £117.16s.1d.³⁷¹ As the fund's earnings grew,³⁷² more money was available for allocation to the churches, to the extent that in 1946 the total allocation, now under the new name, Thanksgiving Fund, to be discussed below,³⁷³ was £8,100, "leaving £1,900 of the Union's £10,000 in hand, apart from interest."³⁷⁴

8.3.4. Growth of the BU Pension Fund

The Pension Fund, like many other funds formed exclusively for European workers,³⁷⁵ grew after 1927 in terms of capital and membership. Following the decision of the 1927 Assembly to establish a Jubilee Fund to augment the Pension Fund,³⁷⁶ immediately, during the 1928 BU Assembly, it was resolved, "That the Executive be asked and empowered to examine the Pension Fund and to see what steps can be taken to bring all the [European] Churches, Ministers, and Missionaries as members with a view to a permanent stability of the Fund."³⁷⁷ In order to ensure this stability,³⁷⁸ which included among other stipulations one making the BU president a trustee of the fund,³⁷⁹ in the following year, 1929, the Emergency Fund was disassociated from the Pension Fund. The fund's major investment, as before, was investment in government and municipal loans.³⁸⁰ Besides the churches', ministers' and wives' contributions into the fund, there were also bequests.³⁸¹ Thus, by 1932, the fund reported assets to the value of £20,365.18s.2d.,³⁸² compared to £16,073.11ds.8d. in 1927.³⁸³

³⁷¹ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 66.

³⁷² For example, in 1946, the fund's treasurer, Mr M. A. Cross reported, "donations amounted to £5,126.4s.7d. and interest earned to £664.2s.7d." (Executive Reports for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 3.).

³⁷³ See Chapter 9.

³⁷⁴ Minutes of 1946 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 59.

³⁷⁵ See Chapter 6.

³⁷⁶ See Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 59.

³⁷⁷ Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 23.

³⁷⁸ By the closing of the 1928 BU financial year, the fund had £16,078.10s.3d. in investments. (Baptist Union Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure from 1st July 1927 to 30th September 1928, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 41.).

³⁷⁹ See Minutes of 1929 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 27.

³⁸⁰ See for example, BU Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure from 1st July 1928 to 30th September 1929, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 50; BU Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure from 1st July 1929 to 30th September 1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 39; BU Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure from 1st July 1930 to 30th September 1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 50; and BU Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure from 1st July 1931 to 30th September 1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 54.

³⁸¹ For example, the bequests by Mr J. H. Biggs and Mr A. R. Perks. (See Obituary, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, pp. 17-18.).

³⁸² BU Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure from 1st July 1931 to 30th September 1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 54.

³⁸³ BU Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure from 1st July 1926 to 30th September 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 59.

Two years later, in 1934, the fund reported its first annuities paid out. These amounted to £1,395.17s.8d.³⁸⁴ But in 1937, during the Assembly, even though the fund has a substantial investment, “some anxiety was expressed in view of the fact that disbursement were exceeding receipts, but it was explained that this was to right itself within the next few years.”³⁸⁵ And this the fund did. Besides contributions, other factors that contributed to the fund’s success was that, administratively, the fund’s “committee of management” was appointed for three years and not yearly like other BU committees, which were appointed annually. This committee of management provided its services for free. In addition, “Mr W. Lawson Brown and his firm, Messrs Lawson Brown and Brown, of Port Elizabeth [have given] legal advice and service ... voluntarily for many years in all legal matters in connection with the Pension Fund.”³⁸⁶ There is no doubt that the willingness of the Europeans to serve the BU (their own Europeans), and further, having access to resources, ensured the fund’s success. After all, the fund was for “their” ministers and the ministers’ wives.

Because the Pension Fund operated with its own constitution, which only catered for “aged ministers,”³⁸⁷ a decision which was reaffirmed in 1933,³⁸⁸ in 1939 during the Assembly “a short discussion took place on the question of the possibility of some changes being made to provide for younger men being able to join the Fund.”³⁸⁹ This consideration was granted, though only confirmed in 1942, by another similar one, which was: “That the General Secretary be asked to make a special appeal to Ministers and Churches, not already in the Fund, to become members and to continue regular support.”³⁹⁰ To attract as many ministers as possible, it was further resolved:

That the Pension Fund Committee be invited to consider the advisability of printing an attractive folder setting forth the advantages of the Pension Fund scheme, such folder to be generally distributed from time to time among our Churches and Ministers. It is recommended

³⁸⁴ BU Pension Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure from 1st July 1934 to 30th September 1935, in BU Handbook for 1935-1936, p. 50.

³⁸⁵ Minutes of 1937 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 70.

³⁸⁶ Minutes of 1938 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 71.

³⁸⁷ Minutes of 1908 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1908-1909, p. 23.

³⁸⁸ See Constitution of the BU of South Africa, revised and adopted at the BU Assembly of 1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 43.

³⁸⁹ Minutes of 1939 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 74.

³⁹⁰ Minutes of 1942 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 61.

that, if possible, space should be given in such a folder to personal attributes as to the benefits of the Fund.³⁹¹

The year prior to the decision by the Assembly in 1942 to allow ministers not in the Pension Fund to join it, the fund had started diversifying its investments. Besides its Union Government loans (£2,100) and municipal loans (£1,970), which were lower compared to the previous years, and loans to churches on first mortgage (£6,935.7s.1d.) and personal loans on first mortgage (£6,452.10s), the fund had 500 shares at £1 a share in Hind Bros. & Co., Ltd., and 1456 shares at £1 a share in Natal Creamery Ltd.³⁹² In 1943, a year prior to the SABMS's "Missionary Survey," the BU Assembly passed the following resolution, as another means to make the fund more accessible to the ministry:

That the Executive Committee be instructed to examine, with a view to revision, the Pension Fund Constitution and By-Laws in order to make such Fund more accessible and attractive to our ministry and the wives of our ministers, and especially to examine the possibility of a sliding scale of contributions dependent on the financial status of members and Churches.³⁹³

The successive assemblies' resolutions, as listed above, clearly indicate the commitment the BU Executive and the Assembly, the highest decision making body of the Baptist Church of South Africa, had to ensuring the welfare of its (European) ministers. The result of the meeting between the "members of the Pension Fund ... the Trustees and the Committee of Management of the Fund ... with the Executive of the Baptist Union of South Africa"³⁹⁴ was presented at the Assembly of 1945. Mr T. Riemer, who had been the fund's treasurer for fifteen years, gave notice of motion "to amend sub-sections (c) and (d) of section 4 of the Pension Fund Constitution by the substitution of £6 for £3 in each instance, with the proviso that in the cases of wives already in the Fund the extra £3 shall be paid in future by the Churches of which their husbands are ministers."³⁹⁵ In the following year's Assembly, the motion was carried through unamended.³⁹⁶ (This resolution was also applicable to the SABMS workers, meaning that contributions made by the churches to the Pension Fund were in the case of the SABMS sent by the SABMS.) Further, the Assembly passed the resolution,

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² BU Pension Fund Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 53. The Perks Memorial Fund, as a bequest to the BU Pension Fund, left the 1456 shares in the "Creamery Ltd."

³⁹³ Minutes of 1943 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 71.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 72.

³⁹⁵ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 71.

³⁹⁶ Minutes of 1946 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 61.

“that the Pension Fund Managers be requested to consider and report on ways and means whereby increased pension benefits might be paid to members of the Fund.”³⁹⁷ While the BU Assembly did its best to cater for its European workers, including the SABMS European missionaries, consideration of the native workers’ pension was never part of the annual Assemblies’ proceedings. This was despite a “concern” raised by the deputation, as discussed below, as early as 1944, that there “should be” a pension scheme for native workers. In 1947, when the BU Pension Fund had a revenue of £26,869.9s.8d.,³⁹⁸ appeared for the first time under the SABMS’s Statement of Revenue and Expenditure an expenditure of £32.16s.10d. referred to as Native Ministers Gratuity Fund.³⁹⁹ This amount was followed in 1948 by an amount of £37.0s.7d.,⁴⁰⁰ also similarly recorded. These two figures remained all that was to be found of a pension fund for native workers, which did not even have a constitution. Rev H. Peinke, superintendent of the Transkei, one of the beneficiaries of the BU Pension Fund, had the audacity to report, in his 1948 fieldwork report:

Rev J. J. Mgwigwi has retired from active service and is receiving a small pension from the Society. He was not a paid worker, having been self-supporting, which we humbly, and gratefully recognize. He was one of God’s humble, but faithful servants and was a most acceptable preacher of the Word. His work has been distributed between Revs S. Somagaca and P. Muni in order to prevent overlapping.⁴⁰¹

8.3.5. The SABMS’s Trust Fund

The SABMS, like the BU, had its own trust funds. This fund’s means of raising money were varied. They included income gained from the loans it loaned to the European churches, offerings from European churches, bequests left to it and funds raised by the native churches. In 1929 specifically, the SABMS Committee reported:

We rejoice in the magnificent response of the [European] churches which have raised nearly £500 more than last year, £2,592 in all, one of the largest amounts ever received. We also have received help from our Trust Funds amounting to £352. The native churches raised in all

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ BU Pension Fund Balance Sheet as at 30th June 1946, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 73.

³⁹⁹ SABMS Expenditure and Revenue Account for the twelve months ending 30th June 1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 78.

⁴⁰⁰ SABMS Expenditure and Revenue Account for the twelve months ending 30th June 1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1948, p. 79.

⁴⁰¹ SABMS Fields Reports for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 72.

£745, but a good deal of that is absorbed in local expenses. They [natives] are responding to their responsibilities. Yet in spite of all this we ended with a deficit on the year's working of £60, and in the last three years, our accumulated deficit amounted to £204. Here is a danger signal that we must perforce heed.⁴⁰²

The Committee continued to report that in response to suggestions by auditors, "we are tightening up our local account, though that cannot greatly affect the issue."⁴⁰³ By "local accounts," the SABMS meant the costs or accounts for the running of native churches. Interestingly, the Committee mentioned, as one means of raising funds among others, "old used jewellery [that] can be sent to Mr E. V. Baker, Juta's Building, Capetown, and may help."⁴⁰⁴ Further, the Committee reported: "All our fields in the Union are clamouring to pool the stipends of the native ministers with the aid of a sustentation fund supplied from our treasury."⁴⁰⁵ To this, the Committee responded, that "[it] fears to be involved in extra expense rather than be relieved thereby, and has decided to wait a year till the plan has been more fully tested in the Transvaal."⁴⁰⁶

By the close of the 1930 financial year, the SABMS's finances were in the red: "the adverse balance owing to banks and trust funds was over £900 in February [1930]."⁴⁰⁷ In an attempt to remedy the situation, the Committee reported that, since the "Missionary Trust Funds have been given for the benefit of the Society and not for the help of the European churches, it has been decided that they cannot be loaned to churches at a low rate of interest, but should be invested at the highest rate available consistent with security."⁴⁰⁸ In the same "year," 1930, a good number of bequests were left to the SABMS.⁴⁰⁹ This was the most substantial number of bequests left to the SABMS in a single year.⁴¹⁰ Notwithstanding this, in the following year, 1931, the SABMS had to "face the biggest deficit of our history, £1,037, and the promised

⁴⁰² SABMS Field Report for 1928-1929, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 16.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ SABMS Fields Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

⁴⁰⁹ These bequests were for example: Mr Perks's "most munificent bequest to the Missionary Society" in his will (Minutes of Missionary Session of 1930 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 17), which the following year was reported to be a share in the sugar farm, a house in Durban for a missionary home of rest and a residue of the estate (SABMS Executive Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 11.); Ms Biggs of Port Elizabeth who "bequeathed her house to the Society though it will not be available probably for some years" (Ibid.); and Professor Henry Newbould of Pretoria who bequeathed £50 to the SABMS (Ibid.). In acknowledging these bequests, the SABMS Executive wrote: "They being dead yet speak, and help to further the work that was dear to them, and to their Lord." (Ibid.).

⁴¹⁰ See Chapter 6.

increase in some [Europeans'] salaries gave way to a threat of reduction."⁴¹¹ In an attempt to help reduce the deficit, two of the lady missionaries "presented an offer to take less even to the half of their wonted stipend."⁴¹² But this offer "the Executive could not consider."⁴¹³ Fortunately for the benefit of the European workers, the deficit in the last quarter of the same financial year, as a result of "the remarkable response of the churches ... [was] wiped out."⁴¹⁴ And when the SABMS Trust Fund "suffered somewhat on farm investment owing to agricultural depression, [a] further payment of nearly £500 from the estate of the late Mr W. C. Orsmond"⁴¹⁵ fortunately put the fund back on its feet. Thus, it closed the year with £3,000. And for the next years and more, the fund annually reported on its increasing assets.

By 1942, the fund's assets amounted to £8,548.15s.2d.⁴¹⁶ - a major growth⁴¹⁷ compared to the £3,000 in 1932. In 1943, during the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly, following on an earlier decision of 1930, that the funds in the SABMS Trust Fund should be "invested at the highest rate consistent with security," it was resolved: "In order to help in the financing of essential building operations the Executive will recommend, at the forthcoming Assembly, that the amount which may be borrowed from Trust Funds for that purpose, with proper guarantees regarding the payment of interest, shall be increased from 10% to 15% of the ordinary Trust Fund capital."⁴¹⁸ By the close of the 1943 financial year, the Trust Fund's assets amounted to £10,378.19s.11d.⁴¹⁹ While the Trust Fund annually generated capital for the SABMS, the SABMS never forgot to take care of its European workers. Concerning Mr

⁴¹¹ SABMS Executive Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 17.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ SABMS Executive Report for 1931-1932, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 18.

⁴¹⁶ SABMS Trust Fund Balance Sheet 30th June 1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 52.

⁴¹⁷ After 1932, the Fund's assets grew as follows: £3,694.4s.10d. in 1933. (SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 63.); £4,835.4s.0d. in 1934 (SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1934, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 54.); £5,068.17s.4d. in 1935 (SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1935, in BU Handbook for 1935-1936, p. 43.); £5,946.17s.7d. in 1936 (SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1936, in BU Handbook for 1936-1937, p. 54.); £6,498.17s.7d. in 1937 (SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 59.); £7,278.4s.0d. in 1938 (SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1938, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 59.); £7,251.18s.3d. (SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 64.); £7,413.1s.9d. in 1940 (SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1940, in BU Handbook for 1940-1941, p. 42.); and £7,514.2s.2d. in 1941. (SABMS Trust Fund Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June 1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 51.).

⁴¹⁸ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1943 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 26.

⁴¹⁹ SABMS Trust Fund Balance Sheet 30th June 1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 63.

A. R. Perks's bequest, for example, it reported the sale of the property left by him, who had suggested that it might be used as a holiday home for the SABMS's European workers.

After full consideration the Executive decided that, for a number of reasons, this suggestion could not be carried out, and that advantage should be taken of the Testator's expressed permission to sell it that course was thought to be desirable. Wishing however to keep as closely as practicable to the donor's apparent intention the Executive now report their decision, subject to the Assembly, that the first claim upon the interest earned by the invested proceeds of the sale, which amount to approximately £2,360, shall be the formation of a Trust Fund from which grants may be made from time to time towards the holiday or furlough expenses of [European] Missionaries, keeping especially in mind the possibility of serious or prolonged illness.⁴²⁰

At the same time that the SABMS established a special Trust Fund "towards the holiday or furlough expenses of [European] Missionaries," it also resolved to undertake a missionary survey, which is discussed below. The same year, the deputation (which consisted of some BU and SABMS leaders) undertook the survey, and reported on the native ministers' and lay workers' abject poverty; this did not affect the SABMS's usual way of running its finances. In the same year, for example, the SABMS Executive reported concerning its Trust Fund that there was "no special comment other than the repetition of last year's reminder of the difficulty of finding good investments."⁴²¹ During the same period, European missionaries' salaries and other benefits were made more attractive. To begin with, in 1941, the SABMS Executive "for the amount of the residue of the estate [of Mr A. R. Perks] ... decided to use the greater part of the amount to place our Missionaries, if eligible, in the Pension Fund, or to make some provision for their future, on retirement, through some other channel."⁴²² The amount received for this residue was £1,757.11s.4d. In the same *Report* it is also recorded: "the [SABMS] Executive has adopted suggestions under which missionary furloughs will be extended so that each [European] worker in turn may visit as many centres as possible under the directions of the general secretary and the treasurer."⁴²³ Secondly, in 1942, the SABMS Executive reported, "[that] in view of the cost of living, [it] has increased the salaries of [European] missionaries by ten per cent."⁴²⁴ About the native workers it recorded, rather

⁴²⁰ SABMS Executive Report for 1943-1944, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 21.

⁴²¹ SABMS Executive Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 22.

⁴²² SABMS Executive Report for 1940-1941, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 28.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ SABMS Executive Report for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 18.

imprecisely, that it had “given increases to many native workers.”⁴²⁵ Thirdly, when Rev and Mrs Peinke in 1943 “completed twenty-five years in association with the SABMS, ... [they] were presented with a substantial cheque to the total of which all the Churches had subscribed.”⁴²⁶ These three actions for the benefit of Europeans were made possible because of what the SABMS had reaped from the land. Looking closer at these decisions, it is also clear that it was due to the estate of the late Mr Perks, a European, a beneficiary of the biased land Acts, that the SABMS had surplus capital to spend on increasing the material rewards of its European workers.

8.4. The SABMS’s missionary survey and recommendations

The “missionary survey,” as seen already, was undertaken by the SABMS to assess the work and properties in its mission fields. The *Report*, a 49-page single-spaced document, compiled for the SABMS (and the BU), the only one of its kind since the founding of the SABMS in 1892, consisted of first hand experiences of the work undertaken by the SABMS workers, both Europeans and natives, in all its fields. Besides the audit of the lands and properties belonging to the SABMS, an assessment of the state of the native training institutions⁴²⁷ and the way forward concerning their operations, the *Report* also contains two “distinctive aspects” pertaining to native workers in all the fields: the native women agents and the unpaid native workers, who were for the most part, the same people. The distinction made here between the native women agents and the unpaid native workers is for purposes of categorization and emphasis. These two aspects are distinctive because they were prevalent throughout the history of the SABMS, decades prior to the undertaking of the missionary survey in 1944. They serve to explain the “missionary success” of the SABMS, which was at the “expense” of these native workers.

8.4.1. Native women agents

The history of the role of women in South African Baptist history, unlike that of men, has been relegated to the background. Even more marginalized was the role of black women. Even though the South African Baptist Women’s Association (SABWA) was formed as early

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Minutes of 1943 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 76.

⁴²⁷ See Chapter 7.

as 1912,⁴²⁸ and the South African Bantu Baptist Women's Association (SABBWA) was formed in 1946⁴²⁹ (the same year that the Bantu Baptist Church appointed the first black moderator, Rev S. Mashologu),⁴³⁰ the roles of these bodies were limited to raising money for the BU and the SABMS, respectively, to cater for the BU assemblies and to have their "own [women's] conferences." In other words, women's role was peripheral (in terms of power) in the running of the Baptist Church of South Africa. More alienated still were native women, who besides being women in the white-males run Baptist Church of South Africa, were never made part and parcel of SABWA, a European-only women's body, and were also not part of the running of the Bantu Baptist Church (BBC). Worst, native widows whose husbands also served the Baptist Church were, unlike their European counterparts, for whom a fund was formed,⁴³¹ never cared for.

An attempt to record this history of the role of women, particularly native women, in the Baptist Church of South Africa, was undertaken by Hayashida, whose work⁴³² disappointingly provides no new insights. Further, his work clearly indicates that he seems unaware that besides the white run SABWA, there was also the natives "led" Bantu Baptist Women's Association (BBWA), a factor which Kretzschmar also,⁴³³ seems not to be aware of. Nevertheless Hayashida, quoting Kretzschmar, provides an interesting argument in stating that while white women taught in Sunday schools, visited the sick, served as missionaries, engaged in evangelism, and were active in the BWA, with few exceptions not able to attain theological education, black women likewise, "were not only loyal to their churches but were the mainstays of them."⁴³⁴ White women held the title "missionary" within the SABMS, and despite their immense contributions, women were never overseers of male missionaries. Only if a man was unavailable were women found in senior positions. Missionary women were engaged among other activities in teaching, preaching, planting new churches and leadership

⁴²⁸ See Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, pp. 47-48. During the same assembly, the constitution of the SABWA was presented to the assembly. (Ibid., pp. 48-50.). See also Volume Three (Appendices), the document entitled: Constitution of the South African Baptist Women's Association (1912). Further, see also the discussion on Gaitskell's discussion, in Chapter 9, on the history and factors surrounding the founding of women's movements in mainline churches.

⁴²⁹ See SABMS Field Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 27. In the same Report, it was reported that the constitution of the SABBWA has been drafted and submitted to the SABMS Executive.

⁴³⁰ See SABMS Field Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 27.

⁴³¹ See Chapter 6. The fund, formed in 1917, was called Ministers' Widows Pension Fund.

⁴³² Hayashida, N. O. (1999). *Women and Leadership in the Baptist Convention of South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA.

⁴³³ Kretzschmar, L. (1998). *Privatization of the Christian Faith: Mission, Social Ethics and the South African Baptists*. Ghana: Legon Theological Studies Series.

⁴³⁴ Kretzschmar, L. (1992). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 219-220, quoted in Hayashida, N. O. 1999. *Women and Leadership in the Baptist Convention of South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA, p. 39.

of various sorts. As long as these ministries took place among the blacks, "on the mission field," they were acceptable, but in white Baptist congregations the roles of women were severely subdued in comparison. As for black women, it is only later (which Kretzschmar mistakenly refers to as the 1930s),⁴³⁵ that black women became influential administrators, preachers and leaders, interpreters, and "bible women" agents, but they were still denied formal theological education.⁴³⁶ In addition, native women also served in medical dispensaries.⁴³⁷

Regarding the findings by the deputation, the first field that the deputation visited was Pondoland and East Griqualand, a field under Rev Brailsford's supervision. What they discovered here, a factor also common to the other fields, was that "women greatly outnumber men in the membership of the churches."⁴³⁸ In East Griqualand, where also women exceeded men in numbers, "some local congregation [have] not male members at all."⁴³⁹ In addition, "few or no young men are coming forward as preachers and leaders."⁴⁴⁰ In deciphering the reason for this, the deputation argued:

The reasons for this are not at all easy to discover. It is usually alleged that the proneness of the men to beer-drinking and sexual immorality and lapses into polygamy militates against a higher percentage of conversions and steady membership. But it is notoriously harder for women to relinquish heathen religious customs and superstitious practices. The migration of many young men to the towns and to the mines for employment for longer or shorter periods may have something to do with it. [Most certainly, in this researcher's view, since they were alienated from the land that was their traditional source of income.] But the effect of the preponderance of Christian women over men ought to be a factor in redressing the balance as a new generation of children with Christian mothers arises, if the home training of the young is taken seriously.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁵ See Chapter 4 wherein I argue that native women, for example, Mrs John Adams at Tshabo, were involved in mission among natives as "administrators" and "leaders" as early as 1892. See also Chapter 5 wherein I argue that "bible women" agents were active either as preachers or interpreters even before the formation of the Native Baptist Church Councils in 1923.

⁴³⁶ Kretzschmar, L. 1992. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 231-232, quoted in Hayashida, N. O. (1999). *Women and Leadership in the Baptist Convention of South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA, p. 40.

⁴³⁷ See Mogashoa, M. H. "A historical survey of the missionary purpose of Baptist medical dispensaries to the 'natives,'" in *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, December 2001, pp. 74-97.

⁴³⁸ The Pondoland and East Griqualand Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 8.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Of assistance to home training of the young was the role of Sunday school work. In Pondoland, this work "has been developed in and around Mjozi with gratifying results."⁴⁴² There were between 200 and 300 scholars in 10 schools scattered through the district, which owed much, according to the deputation, to Mrs Brailsford's patient and persevering work. Further, "Girls' Bible Classes have produced many of the women teachers required."⁴⁴³ Although home training of the young "ought to be taken seriously," according to the deputation, "Lack of parental control, however, even where the parents are Christian, is perhaps the biggest single obstacle to be surmounted."⁴⁴⁴ This is the same argument that the SABMS European missionaries had presented as early as 1893, that the natives were incapable of rearing their own children. However, in 1944, even native Christian parents were deemed incapable of rearing their own children, while then, 1893 and years thereafter, this argument had been applied only to "pagan parents." Therefore, any natives, whether Christian or not Christian, were according to the SABMS, even as late as 1944, incapable of rearing their own children.

The women's meetings, referred to as the "Native B.W.A's,"⁴⁴⁵ were reportedly flourishing "under Mrs Brailsford's supervision and many of the women display high qualities of Christian character and devotion."⁴⁴⁶ But here, too, the deputation added, "continual energetic European leadership will be essential for a very long time to come."⁴⁴⁷ This supervision of the native women by a European woman brings into discussion another form of control the native women were subjected. That is, in as much as both black and white women were subjected to patriarchal control within the Baptist Church of South Africa, these women were never equal amongst themselves. The white women, because they were white, were either "made superior"⁴⁴⁸ or assumed a superior role⁴⁴⁹ over their native counterparts.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ The key thread in this argument is that, had it not been for male interference, both the black and white women would have found each other and created an existence based on their "common womanhood." This type of thinking seems to be ignorant of the factor that besides male interference, skin colour would have still remained a formidable factor of difference between black and white women. See the following works by Masenya, M. J., a South African scholar writing on South African experiences, who critiques this notion of "common womanhood" between black and white women: "Redefining Ourselves: A Bosadi (Womanhood) Approach, in *Old Testament Essays*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1997, pp. 439-458; "A Bosadi (Womanhood) Reading of Genesis 16, in *Old Testament Essays*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1998, pp. 271-287; "Biblical Authority and the authority of women's experiences: Whither way?" In *Scriptura*, Vol. 3, No. 70, 1999, pp. 181-251; "A Bosadi (Womanhood) Reading of Proverbs 31:10-31," in Dube, M. & Shamana, M. (eds.). (2001). *Other Readings:*

Patriarchal control was also found in the running of the day schools. About these: the deputation observed:

Day schools have for a very long time formed an integral part of our mission work in Pondoland. The schools are held in the Society's buildings, some of which are those used for worship on Sundays. Certificated Christian teachers of various denominational allegiances, some of whom are loyal Baptists, staff the schools and their salaries are paid in full by Government on a generous scale. Trained women teachers commence at between £5 and £6.10.0. This is all inclusive and teachers have to provide their own housing. They all have received training in one or other of the large Methodist or Presbyterian institutions within reach. The [male] missionary is the recognised manager of the schools, gives general supervision, receives and distributes the monthly salary cheques, and exercises the right of entry for school worship and religious instruction in which no interference is made if denominational teaching is given.⁴⁵⁰

In the second field that the deputation visited, the Transkei field, where "it was apparent that the women outnumber the men,"⁴⁵¹ the only report on women's activity was contained in a single sentence: "The Bantu Baptist Women's Association is organized at all centres visited by the Deputation."⁴⁵² Even though this field had no schools under the SABMS's management, nonetheless the deputation reported that at Xume there is a school staffed by two teachers, neither of whom was a Baptist: the head teacher "[is] a man trained at a Methodist institution and is a member of that Church."⁴⁵³ His assistant "is a young woman, an Anglican by persuasion, who was trained at the All Saints Institution in the St John's diocese."⁴⁵⁴

Although the majority of the native congregants in this field, as in Pondoland and East Griqualand, were women, nevertheless the deputation recommended, "that at least one additional trained Native minister be employed in the Transkeian field, the stationing and

African Women and the Bible. Atlanta: SBL, pp. 145-157; and "... but you shall let every girl live ...": Reading Exodus 1:1-2:10 the Bosadi (Womanhood) Way," in *Old Testament Essays*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 99-112.

⁴⁴⁹ This is my own argument that superiority in the colonial discourse is determined by skin colour, while other factors, such as class and power, are secondary. I also believe that pioneering research on relations between black and white Baptist women, particularly into social history during the colonial period, using in particular, these women's personal memoirs and journals and other original documents, is necessary. Baptist historians ought to undertake it soon.

⁴⁵⁰ The Pondoland Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 9.

⁴⁵¹ The Transkei Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 18.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

duties of such a minister to be a matter for discussion and decision between the Superintendent Missionary, the Southern Field Committee and the Executive."⁴⁵⁵ Further, while it hinted that it was "impressed with the need for more, and better equipped, lay evangelists and pastors,"⁴⁵⁶ it recommended "that the Executive explore the possibility of arranging periodical training and/or refresher courses for such workers at the Ennals Institute, in addition to the courses already arranged for ministerial students."⁴⁵⁷ Even though the Bantu Baptist Women's Association was reported to be organized and active in all centres of this field (including Pondoland and East Griqualand), in making recommendations the deputation made no comment about these women's efforts, whether to encourage them or to simply acknowledge their efforts. Clearly, this factor reflects on the deputation as being comprised of males only.

In the third field, Kaffraria, the *Report* described a number of roles played by native Christian women. Firstly, there was a specific property designated for the Bantu B.W.A. This was at Tshabo, where there "are two [buildings] in number."⁴⁵⁸ The main edifice, the school-church, was stonewalled and iron-roofed, erected with a wood and iron addition. The stone section, as the deputation found it "appropriate" to mention, "was originally built for the late Rev C. Pearce before he moved to King Williams Town."⁴⁵⁹ Alongside this building "is a small mud-walled, two-room cottage originally intended as a kitchen and retiring room for the Bantu B.W.A."⁴⁶⁰ There is room to believe that the kitchen services of the Bantu BWA were available to Rev Pearce's household next door. During the deputation's visit, this two-room cottage was serving as a "very incommodious and generally unsuitable residence for Mr and Mrs Luxomo."⁴⁶¹ Secondly, the report on this field describes the "accompanying" and "secondary role" the wives of native workers played in Baptist mission. For example, at Kalana, where a one-teacher school with about 100 children on the roll is "situated in a district once notorious for the backwardness and hostility of the heathen 'red' natives, ... the teacher's wife gives valuable voluntary help to the husband."⁴⁶² The building, was of "wood and iron, too small to accommodate all the enrolled children at once."⁴⁶³ The teacher was a

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁸ The Kaffraria Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 24.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Baptist, trained at Lovedale.⁴⁶⁴ Another example of the accompanying and secondary role of native women in their husbands' Baptist mission work is found in a report on the Ennals Institute, which belonged to this field, that at the residence of the student ministers, "the wife of one of the ministers in training acts as cook-housekeeper."⁴⁶⁵ But, "with this exception, it is impossible for students to bring their wives into residence with them."⁴⁶⁶

Even though most wives had an accompanying role, there were cases where the wives of native ministers never strictly played secondary roles in their husbands' Baptist ministry work, yet in one way or the other, they were drawn into this role. For example, at East London, where Rev Mashologu, "our ablest native minister"⁴⁶⁷ was working and received a stipend of £7 a month, "met on a half-and-half basis by the Society and the Church,"⁴⁶⁸ Mrs Mashologu was reported to be contributing to the family budget by teaching in a local school managed by the Salvation Army. Among the list of recommendations pertaining to this field, in order to "enable the Superintendent Missionary himself to supervise the Kaffrarian field more effectively,"⁴⁶⁹ the Deputation suggested:

that the Rev. S. Mashologu should be appointed to assist Mr. Pape. This may mean Mr. Mashologu's relinquishment of the pastorate of the East London Church, in which case the Church should be consulted. In this event it is suggested that the proposal be placed before Mr. Mashologu and that if he is favourable the matter be placed before the East London congregation by someone deputed by the Southern Field Committee. Obviously, the question of Mr. Mashologu's residence would need careful consideration in view of other questions involved such as Mrs. Mashologu's employment and the education of the family.⁴⁷⁰

The third aspect that emerged from the deputation's report concerning Kaffraria, and for the first time since the deputation's tour of all the fields, was to report on "the need for and the possibilities of providing training for women as well as men."⁴⁷¹ This training, according to the deputation in the case of women specifically,

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., p. 29.

... would cover Bible study, conduct of women's meetings and particularly Sunday School organisation and method. Instruction in hygiene and in simple home nursing would also be of great advantage to the women both for their own homes and for the work of sick visiting. A beginning might be made by bringing wives of students there to take a separate course running alongside that of the ministerial course. Later on it might be extended to include selected women from the Bantu B.W.A's. The European B.W.A's. might be interested in raising funds to make this possible. If this were done refresher courses might be run also for women unable to attend the longer course.⁴⁷²

In the Transvaal, the last field that the deputation visited, as in Pondoland and East Griqualand the Bantu B.W.A. was led by a European woman, Mrs Eriksson, wife of Rev Eriksson, Superintendent of the field, assisted by Mrs A. H. Chapman. As in Kaffraria, this report records a number of other aspects concerning the role played by native women in Baptist mission. Firstly, the role of the women's leader is played by the pastor's wife. While the wife of the pastor had played this role, the Transvaal report was the first report to explicitly state so. For example, in Atteridgeville Township where Rev Sekese was the pastor, "his wife [was] the women's leader of more than usual character."⁴⁷³ Secondly, while the report emphasized attention that "the urgent need is for workers with some training,"⁴⁷⁴ the deputation felt, "that more women might be used for Sunday School work than are being used at present."⁴⁷⁵ As with the Kaffraria field, it further recommended, "that a special women's course would be a great help."⁴⁷⁶ It added: "perhaps this could be tried at Orlando [Millard Institute] at times when other courses are not running."⁴⁷⁷ The Orlando Scheme, was the third instance of the role of native women. It included a school named the Law Palmer Memorial School, which had by 1944, 300 children on the roll, and "a staff of three male and three female teachers,"⁴⁷⁸ of which only two were Baptists. Of the three women teachers, two were identified in the *Report*. These were: the daughter of Rev J. Piliso, who was also the wife of Mr Tusini Jnr., and the wife of the principal who were both Methodists.

The last, and a critical aspect in this report on the Transvaal field was the leadership role played by women whose husbands (ministers) had deceased. In Potchefstroom for example, a

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ The Transvaal Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 37.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 39.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

town location “which houses over 6,000 inhabitants,”⁴⁷⁹ there was a brick and iron church. It was in poor condition, as it had served the people for many years, and, becoming too small, was being enlarged:

An additional 12 feet is being added to the length and a vestry added; all this work being done and paid for by the people themselves. Since the death of the Rev. Ndala more than a year ago the church has been pastorless. But his widow, a woman of outstanding personality, has taken charge of the work ever since. She obviously has the respect of the members, both male and female, and exercises good control. In addition to the church and [Bantu] B.W.A. work Mrs. Ndala manages, with two helpers, a small Sunday school and also conducts a weekly class for the lay preachers. Some of these men are actually being taught to read and write by her. The membership of the church - including the outlying districts - is 97, a number which is said not to include any nominal or moribund members.⁴⁸⁰

Mrs Ndala occupied “a Kimberley brick manse adjoining the church, which is in a damp and rather dilapidated condition.”⁴⁸¹ In view of the fact that the people themselves were shouldering the work of the enlargement of the church, the deputation wrote, “it might be recommended that the Society offer some help towards renovating the manse.”⁴⁸² Notwithstanding her efforts, the deputation concluded: “The appointment of a suitable minister to Potchefstroom is long overdue.”⁴⁸³ In other words, a native minister’s wife’s financial security and role in the church concerned was dependent on her husband. When he passed away, the position of the wife, including the family, their livelihood and participation in the church concerned had to be reconsidered. If it was not, she and her family suddenly would no more belong to the church that used to employ her deceased husband. This is no different from the government’s argument, as early as 1913, that the worth of the native is found only in “his” labour, while that of his wife is not even worth mentioning.

8.4.2. “Unpaid” native workers and native ministers’ working conditions

The working conditions of native ministers in this period, as has become evident, were depressing in comparison to those of their white counterparts. As discussed in Chapter 4, they were perceived to be intellectually inferior, and were therefore perceived to be in constant

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

need of a European to guide them, as seen in Chapter 5. This inferiority translated to economic rewards, that as seen in Chapter 6 were minimal. Further, their contribution to the Baptist Church of South Africa was recorded as small, which perception affected among other results, the quality of their theological education, as discussed in Chapter 7. In brief, a distinction was made between European and native theological education. While European ministers' theological education was well organized, and subsidized and they were even encouraged to attain university degrees, the education of their native counterparts, was somewhat haphazardly carried out by European superintendents who in addition had to supervise their fields, by European ministers resident in a European residential area closer to the native reserve where the institution was, and by retired European missionaries who were recorded to be "giving more time" to this work. Because of these very conditions of native theological education created by European Baptists, it is with dismay that the same Europeans would report that this education was seen not to produce the "desired results." Given these factors, when the deputation toured all the mission fields in 1944 from their *Report* emerged vivid details, another depressing aspect, of the working and living conditions of these native ministers. For the European-only deputation, the encountering and recording of these experiences did not seem to have affected them, except for the purpose of soliciting the "desired support and funding." Further, the opinionated view of the deputation, as evident in the following accounts, also tells much about the deputation's perception of the native workers as inferior.

In the first field that the deputation visited, Pondoland and East Griqualand, the deputation reported that "There are only two full-time [native] mission agents viz. Mr. Richard Ndubeke, the evangelist resident at Mjozi and the Rev. R.E. Ntshulana at present resident some miles away at Kanyayo but shortly to be transferred to another centre at Mbongweni."⁴⁸⁴ Of these two only Mr Ndubeke was paid by the Society. He received 40/- a month. Mjozi, the mission station for Pondoland, comprised a large, well built mission house of burnt brick with an iron roof and with separate garage and small out-houses. In this mission house resided Rev and Mrs Brailsford. Reporting on the surroundings of this mission house, the deputation wrote, as mentioned before, "[they] show how much labour and care Mr and Mrs. Brailsford have given during the years to the planting and cultivation of a variety of fruit trees and flowering

⁴⁸⁴ The Pondoland Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Reports and Recommendations*, p. 7.

plants.”⁴⁸⁵ A hundred yards off, from the house, was a wood-and-iron church seating about 200 with, a short distance away, three large schoolrooms and a fourth in course of construction. One schoolroom, constructed from material once used for an institute building, was of iron lined with brick. The others were of pole and mud with thatched roofs. Two large round thatched huts for the accommodation of native visitors complete the group of buildings near the mission house.⁴⁸⁶ In contrast to the mission house, five hundred yards away from the mission station, is the settlement of the evangelist, Mr Ndubeke. It consisted of two thatched houses and two or three acres of cultivated ground. The evangelist, Mr Ndubeke,

costs the Society £2 per month. He is a Std. VI. man and speaks English fairly fluently. He is Mr. Brailsford’s right-hand man as interpreter and general assistant in the work. The well-built houses in which he and his family live are of his own building. It is obvious that his salary meets only a part, and that the smaller part, of his living expenses. This means that he must give some considerable part of his time to his fields and stock. But his services to Mr. Brailsford, and to the Mission (beginning nearly 30 years ago when Mr. Joyce was Superintendent) have been and are of the greatest value. The Deputation formed a very high opinion of him and of the work he has done, and would like to see this recognised in some tangible way. In Mr & Mrs Brailsford’s periodical absences on leave Richard [Ndubeke] has been left in charge of the Mjozi station and the Deputation feels that he could be again left in charge, for a longer period if necessary, with complete confidence.⁴⁸⁷

Concerning Rev Ntshulana, a minister resident at Kanyayo, whom the deputation described as a “reliable, capable man ... [and were] impressed by his quiet and gentlemanly demeanour,”⁴⁸⁸ he received a salary of 50/- a month that was raised entirely by the local congregations. “The method of raising money by a regular quarterly subscription of 2/- a member was abandoned some time ago and the system of requiring each congregation to raise a minimum amount, based on an assessment of 1/6 per member, solely by ordinary Sunday collections substituted.”⁴⁸⁹ In this way “the minister’s salary is raised and the small amounts remaining over after the payment of assessments are available for local expenses and in making small allowances to voluntary evangelists.”⁴⁹⁰ In acknowledging this self-supporting role of the native converts, the deputation further wrote, “With the exception of

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

the Mjozi Church all church buildings have been erected by the people themselves with little or no outside help.”⁴⁹¹

Rev Ntshulana, who received his training “in a Brethren Institute at Isingolweni, Natal, but loyally adheres to Baptist principles,”⁴⁹² was further reported by the deputation, “to be popular among the natives, Christian and non-Christian.”⁴⁹³ But his monthly salary of 50/-, the deputation noted, “compares poorly with the salaries of school teachers of equivalent training and qualifications.”⁴⁹⁴ Thus the deputation commented, “The value of free housing should be allowed for in this comparison, as school teachers have to provide their own. But even so the disparity is very considerable.”⁴⁹⁵ At present, Rev Ntshulana resided “in the house at Kanyayo once occupied by Miss Box and Miss Field.”⁴⁹⁶ A new residence, however, “[was] being prepared for him at Mbongweni by the local church community there.”⁴⁹⁷ In terms of transport, while Rev Brailsford, for whom “the schools occupy a considerable amount of the missionary’s time”⁴⁹⁸ travelled by car, supplied by the Society, and lived in a mission house that had a garage, also supplied by the Society, Rev Ntshulana accomplished “his itinerant ministry over a large, hilly area on horseback.”⁴⁹⁹ And it was recorded: “The Society does not supply or contribute towards the horse.”⁵⁰⁰

In East Griqualand, the field that was “originally begun and maintained by the Lott Carey Missions with the Rev. S. Mashologu in [and was] charge taken over by the S.A.B.M.S. when Mr. Joyce was Superintendent,”⁵⁰¹ since the transference of Mr. Mashologu to East London some years previously, the work had been under the charge of the Rev J. Solwandle, whom the deputation referred to as, “an elderly, well-trying minister who, both as evangelist and as minister,”⁵⁰² was reported to have “rendered long and loyal service to the Society.”⁵⁰³ Further, his home at Xameni, about 30 miles north of Mount Frere and more than 100 miles

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid., p. 8.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 9. For more discussion on the discrepancy between natives’ and Europeans’ means of transport, made available by the SABMS, see Chapter 6.

⁵⁰⁰ The Pondoland Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Reports and Recommendations*, p. 9

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., p. 11.

west of Mjozi, had been used as the "main centre."⁵⁰⁴ Here he had ministered for over 10 years in an area that extended for 70 to 80 miles in various directions, to a membership of about 270 that lie "scattered across this district in 14 or 15 small groups."⁵⁰⁵

Rev Solwandle, who "regularly visited [these areas] on horse-back,"⁵⁰⁶ had his Cape cart by the time of the deputation's visit, "laid by with a broken wheel."⁵⁰⁷ The deputation felt "that having regard to Mr. Solwandle's increasing age - he is 64 though still vigorous - it would be wise to have this vehicle repaired at the Society's expense."⁵⁰⁸ In this field, East Griqualand, where "the Presbyterian and Methodist missions have a large work ... and all the schools belong to these or other denominations,"⁵⁰⁹ the S.A.B.M.S. had no school. However, the superintendent, Rev Brailsford, had been able to visit Mr. Solwandle "about three times a year and considers that this is frequent enough for effective supervision of the work of such a well-trained man."⁵¹⁰ Commenting on the accessibility of the Xameni, the place where Mr Solwandle resided and carried out mission work, the deputation wrote that it was "remote from the main roads and is almost inaccessible in the wet weather."⁵¹¹ Without the constant supervision of a European Superintendent, Rev Brailsford, who visited Xameni only three time a year, Rev Solwandle

has the confidence and respect of the people and one evidence of the effectiveness of his work is seen in the number of conversions and the increase in membership in this area, a few Sunday Schools are carried on but there are few or no trained helpers. ... Few or no young men are coming forward as preachers and leaders - this may possibly be due to our having no school work here. The membership is reported to be largely illiterate. But there are some leaders of weight and character, and the Deputation was privileged to be present when such a man of influence and substance who had broken away with a group of followers when Mr. Mashologu was removed, came back to the church of his first allegiance together with those who had followed him. [Incidentally this brought the whole question of the calling and placing of ministers in the Bantu Baptist Church in an emphatic way to the attention of the Deputation].⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Ibid.

As for Mr Solwandle's salary "of £2 per month [it] is paid by the S.A.B.M.S. direct [through] the contributions of the local churches [that] are sent through the missionary."⁵¹³ In other words, as discussed in Chapter 6, the SABMS dispensed to the native ministers the contributions made by the native churches themselves. Further, these contributions also included meeting the salaries of most of the European missionaries. Rev Solwandle, unlike other native ministers, "[built] his own house, farms his land and cares for his cattle, poultry and horses, and thus helps to maintain himself."⁵¹⁴ Such was often the case with the Lott Carey ministers who were better trained, at overseas institutions, than the SABMS ministers. It was these very same ministers that led the break-aways from the SABMS. Further, at Xameni, where "a well-built church stands (the work of Mr. Mashologu) which holds about 100 people [it] is maintained in good order and repair without expense to the Society. Local buildings are erected and maintained by the people themselves."⁵¹⁵

In making recommendations on this field, Pondoland and East Griqualand collectively, the deputation opened their suggestions with the concern that: "The major problem confronting the Society is that of the replacement of the Rev W. and Mrs Brailsford, who after 23 years of devoted service are now on the point of retirement."⁵¹⁶ Mr. Brailsford, "who intends to reside for a time at least at Umtentweni in Natal, has most kindly offered to visit the field on occasion, pending the appointment of a successor, in order to keep in touch with the Native ministers and workers."⁵¹⁷ Given this "generous offer [that was] most gratefully accepted,"⁵¹⁸ the deputation further recommended that Rev Brailsford "should retain the use of the car."⁵¹⁹ Further, that "all expenses in connection with these visits ... be met by the Society and the question of an honorarium or allowance to Mr. Brailsford be considered."⁵²⁰ Since the utmost care should be exercised "by the Executive in the selection of a suitable successor or successors, even if this means facing an interregnum,"⁵²¹ the deputation without hesitation recommended native ministers to supervise these "fields," not remunerated, in addition to their ministerial work. It wrote:

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁶ Recommendations regarding Pondoland and East Griqualand Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 12

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

Should this become a necessity the fact that such reliable Native ministers as Solwandle and Ntshulana are at work in these fields and that such a man as Richard Ndubeke is available for the upkeep and care of the Mjozi buildings mitigates the seriousness of leaving the field for a time without a resident European missionary.⁵²²

Immediately following the deputation's report on the native ministers' and voluntary evangelists' work for the SABMS, the labour of whom could without doubt be referred to as "free labour," the deputation continued with the question of the replacement of Rev and Mrs Brailsford. They remarked: "the next question of importance is that of the missionary's residence."⁵²³ Given this question which was of "importance," in contrast to earlier reporting on native work which was never referred to as important, it is no wonder that in proposing the appointment of "a second missionary couple [European] to ... East Griqualand,"⁵²⁴ Rev Brailsford spoke with the deputation about "European salaries." Notwithstanding, the deputation stated that Rev Ndubeke "should be given some monetary recognition in appreciation of his nearly 30 years continuous service with the Society. An amount of £10 [was] suggested."⁵²⁵ In addition, it is clear that native ministers even at their old age were still engaged in "fulltime" mission work, in this case Rev Ndubeke, while their European counterparts, such as Rev and Mrs Brailsford, had the option of a financially secure retirement. Concerning Rev and Mrs Brailsford who were moving to their retirement home in Natal, the deputation recommended:

... that the Society acquire from Mr. & Mrs. Brailsford, at a price to be fixed in full reference to present day value, such furniture as they do not wish to take with them to their new home. An adequate removal allowance should also be made for the transportation of such furniture as they elect to take.⁵²⁶

In the next field that the deputation visited, the Transkei, they pointed out, as mentioned before, that like East Griqualand, many of its centres, "many years ago [had] the liberal financial support from the U.S.A. which [its] centres enjoyed [but that this] ceased and the majority of the members attached to these particular centres came under the wing of our

⁵²² Ibid. It is interesting to note that these men are not even titled by either Rev or Mr.

⁵²³ Recommendations regarding Pondoland and East Griqualand Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 12.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

Society.”⁵²⁷ Given “that the uneconomical distribution of the work over the Transkei was not the work of our own mission,”⁵²⁸ the deputation reported (even though the SABMS took it over, made use of it and benefited from this work) that “the uncontrolled work of other bodies and the S.A.B.M.S. has inherited the burden of their probably mistaken zeal.”⁵²⁹ Commencing on a sombre note, the deputation continued with its report.

Horseback travel, in this field that consists of eleven church centres and forty preaching places, “has been impossible for the missionary, but the native ministers and preachers still use this method.”⁵³⁰ The car, which Mr. Peinke uses “is his own personal property.”⁵³¹ But towards this car, as mentioned before, the SABMS “makes a grant of £6 - being £3 towards replacement and £3 towards running expenses,”⁵³² an amount, which according to the deputation, “cannot cover frequent visitation of all centres.”⁵³³ Further, “the house at Idutywa in which Mr. & Mrs. Peinke live, is also their property, [with] a house allowance of £6 a month being made by the Society. The house is situated on land adjoining the site of the European Baptist church of which Mr. Peinke is pastor but it is not on Baptist Union land.”⁵³⁴

In this field, four Native Ministers worked with Rev Peinke, namely the Rev James Mqwiquwi [sic], referred to as “an elderly man of the old school” who worked in the Tsomo district, the Rev Phillip Nqoro in West Pondoland, Rev Pony Mtini near Idutywa, and Rev S. Somaqaca [sic] at Mpotula. Of these, the Deputation saw only Rev P. Nqoro and Rev P. Mtini. Besides the ministers, there were also evangelists, lay-preachers and deacons at work in these many centres, “carrying large responsibilities.”⁵³⁵ Prominent among these, according to the deputation, was Mr Francis Mtini (father of Rev Mtini) an elderly evangelist stationed at Qora, near Idutywa, who like Rev Ntshulana in Pondoland, was described as one “whose dignified appearance and obvious sincerity greatly impressed the deputation.”⁵³⁶

⁵²⁷ The Transkei Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 15.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

At Ruze, this "rather inaccessible spot"⁵³⁷ which is situated at West Pondoland, an area that in turn was under the Transkei, the Rev P. Nqoro had his residence. Besides Rev Nqoro's house, "a couple of round huts and a small mud-walled church, are the only buildings on the site."⁵³⁸ The church, "holding about fifty, is perched just off the crown of the knoll and is seemingly prevented from falling down the steep slope towards which it leans by two massive buttresses on the down-hill side."⁵³⁹ From here Rev Nqoro supervised "three districts with about 300 members distributed among twelve preaching centres, most of which lie to the South-east of Ruze. They are 15, 10 and 8 miles distant respectively."⁵⁴⁰ But Rev Nqoro complained, reported the deputation, "that not living in the centre of his work is a hindrance."⁵⁴¹ Further, "the presence of other Missions, notably the Anglicans and Methodists," the deputation reported, "and their occupation of sites throughout the area makes it impossible for the S.A.B.M.S. to obtain a more central site."⁵⁴² It was reported of Rev Nqoro that he

travels round this large parish on horse-back; he has one animal only and needs two. His salary and expenses and those of three evangelists receiving a small pittance, are met entirely by the local churches. The minister collects and administers the revenue, which is based on a quarterly contribution of 2/- per member. A typical quarter brought in £15.5.-, £4 of which went to the evangelists and the remaining £11.5.- to Mr. Nqoro - not a princely [quarterly] salary for a married minister with four children. Quarterly Communion is the rule, the minister always presiding. Church meetings and deacons meetings are held monthly, often with deacons presiding. Quarterly Meetings comprising leaders of all the congregations in the area are held under the [minister's] chairmanship at the different centres in succession. Eighteen lay preachers (including the three evangelists referred to) are named on the "plan" prepared quarterly by the minister.⁵⁴³

Clearly, it was native ministers such as Rev Nqoro, who earned about £11 per quarter, that remarkably kept the Baptist cause in the "inaccessible spots" alive. It was these very native ministers who continued with mission work without European supervision, that European Superintendents, including the Europeans-only deputation, argued were in need of European guidance. Nevertheless, the deputation did not forget mentioning, whatever the motif for

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Ibid., p. 17.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

doing so, that this Rev Nqoro, “[who] ploughs a lone furrow, as it is impossible for Mr. Peinke to visit this field more than once a year ... had some training under the Rev. C. Pearce.”⁵⁴⁴ Possibly as a result of the training he received under Rev Pearce, the deputation described Rev Nqoro as one who “speak[s] English well, dresses fairly well and does not look his 56 years.”⁵⁴⁵ Even though his library “is pitifully small and inadequate ... [his] answers to the many questions put to him left the Deputation with the impression of a fairly able, conscientious man, cheerfully labouring in an isolated sphere as efficiently as circumstances allow.”⁵⁴⁶

While visiting Rev Nqoro, the deputation “learnt that in the neighbourhood of Ruze lives the influential chief Pota - once a Baptist but now a Methodist.”⁵⁴⁷ About the chief’s change of denominational affiliation, the deputation was quick to point out that “[this] change [is] the result, partly at least, of an unsuitable [native] minister having had charge of Baptist work in his district at one time.”⁵⁴⁸ As for Rev Nqoro, “[he] is said to maintain very good relationships with the chief.”⁵⁴⁹ Continuing on Rev Nqoro’s work and by way of encouraging the native Baptist cause to receive the chief’s attention – an opportunity that the Europeans did not want to miss⁵⁵⁰ – the deputation reported:

It is Nqoro’s wish to move his home kraal from the Mpotula area to the locality near the seat of Chief Pota. For this purpose he asked for a loan of £18 to enable him to erect the house there at an early date. This desire to settle permanently in the district would indicate that he regards himself as permanently settled in the West Pondoland circuit.⁵⁵¹

The immediate question then would be: Was this money provided? In making recommendations on this field, the deputation made no mention of the £18 loan requested by Rev Nqoro. Further, in the annual SABMS record of missionaries and Bantu ministers, which appears in the annual BU Handbooks and which also records the European missionaries and Bantu ministers’ postal and residential addresses, Rev Nqoro’s address, a year after the

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ See Chapters 1, 4 and 5 for discussions on how the European missionaries did their utmost to gain the chief’s attention as part of their mission work.

⁵⁵¹ The Transkei Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 17.

deputation's visit to his area, was recorded as: "Lutubeni Store, Ruse, P.O. Umtata."⁵⁵² This still remained the case three years thereafter.⁵⁵³ This is in fact the same address that Rev Nqoro had used three years prior⁵⁵⁴ to the deputation's visit to his area. Given this evidence clearly Rev Nqoro had never received the loan. Further, given that the SABMS was tasked with making investments and ensuring good returns on interest as earlier discussed, for the SABMS to loan £18 to Rev Nqoro, who earned £11.5 per quarter, must have appeared to be a financial risk.

Rev Nqoro was the person who in 1930, working in the Glen Grey area and referred to as having "proved his worth and capacity there,"⁵⁵⁵ together with Abel Jotile, "our oldest and most respected evangelist in Pondoland and a great source of strength to Mr Brailsford,"⁵⁵⁶ who were recommended for ordination, by "our [European] missionaries and their Native colleagues."⁵⁵⁷ This recommendation was passed by "the assembly of the Bantu Baptist Church at Easter after authorization by our Executive."⁵⁵⁸ It ought not to be forgotten that the Executive of the SABMS consisted only of Europeans. The two black men were only ordained after the "confidence [by] our missionaries ... in the fitness of the two evangelists for the holy office of the Christian Ministry [was] manifested in recommending them for ordination at this Assembly."⁵⁵⁹ The same year that he was recommended for ordination, as a result of Miss Cockburn's illness, that "necessitated her absence from the field"⁵⁶⁰ (the Glen Grey field), Rev Nqoro was reported to "[have] done good work in taking her place."⁵⁶¹ He again fulfilled this same role, three years (1933) later, again without remuneration: "on the grounds of health ... [and] the retirement of our Lady Missionaries in Glen Grey,"⁵⁶² the six

⁵⁵² The SABMS Missionaries and Bantu Ministers, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 90.

⁵⁵³ See The SABMS Missionaries and Bantu Ministers, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 82. In 1947, next to Rev Nqoro's name appeared a new address: "Tyra Store, P.O. Libodi [sic], vit [sic] Umtata." This new address suggests however that Rev Nqoro had not moved to Chief Pota's locality. He was still in Umtata, the same locality as was reflected in the previous address. (The SABMS Missionaries and Bantu Ministers, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 14.). The new address was the same even in the following year: "Tyra Store, P.O. Libode [sic], via Umtata." (The SABMS Missionaries and Bantu Ministers, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 13.).

⁵⁵⁴ See The SABMS Missionaries and Bantu Ministers, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 85; The SABMS Missionaries and Bantu Ministers, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 95; and The SABMS Missionaries and Bantu Ministers, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 89.

⁵⁵⁵ SABMS Field Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² SABMS Field Report for 1932-1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 10.

native churches "will come under the pastoral oversight of Rev Philip Nqoro."⁵⁶³ In the same report, the SABMS Committee noted, "[that] the Education Department has accepted our nomination of him as the manager of the five schools."⁵⁶⁴ The SABMS Committee however, did not forget to add "[that] the whole work will remain as before under the Superintendence of Mr Peinke."⁵⁶⁵

The third field, in Kaffraria, where lay Tshabo, the earliest missionary work by the Baptists (German Baptists) among the natives, was commenced in 1868 by Carl Pape and by the time of the deputation's visit, this field, was under the superintendence of Rev B. Pape. His "quarterly preaching 'plan' for this whole area [showed] 51 regular preachers (including the superintendent and ordained ministers) serving 49 preaching places."⁵⁶⁶ In this field, there were a number of interesting accounts about native workers. For a start, in Buchanan, the spot whose "work was begun ... in 1897 by missionaries of the National Baptist Convention, a strong Negro section of the Baptist Denomination in the U.S.A.,"⁵⁶⁷ Rev F. H. Vockerodt, "the local leader of the Church ... at the time of the transference, and has since been given ministerial recognition by the S.A.B.M.S."⁵⁶⁸ By the time of the deputation's visit, "he [was] still in charge of the district with thirteen preaching places, with buildings at five of them, twenty six lay-preachers and a total membership of over 400."⁵⁶⁹ Rev B. Pape, Superintendent of the field, reported to the deputation, "that this circuit shows a larger regular increase of membership than any other in his area."⁵⁷⁰ Further, under Rev Vockerodt, "a thriving school is carried on under the joint managership [of] a Methodist minister."⁵⁷¹ The growth of this work, under Rev Vockerodt, "now aged sixty-six, [who] is supported by the circuit," was growing. But the Rev Vockerodt had to "supplement his income by following his own trade as a builder and handyman."⁵⁷²

Fortunately, unlike Rev Nqoro who was residing away from the centre of his work, Rev Vockerodt occupied one of the "three main buildings at Buchanan, viz. a brick church with

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁶ The Kaffraria Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 21.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

iron roof seating about 150, a one-storeyed dwelling house occupied by Mr. Vockerodt, and a comparatively large double-storeyed building, the ground floor of which houses the school.”⁵⁷³ But “these buildings [were] in a dilapidated condition, especially the church and the school.”⁵⁷⁴ Further, “No repairs or redecoration seems to have been attempted since the Society took over the place. It appears further that the Society has no recognised right of occupation of the land. The original letter of occupation was held by the National Baptist Convention and the right of the S.A.B.M.S. as its successor has never been established.”⁵⁷⁵ According to Rev Vockerodt’s “own statements,”

the work ... began by proselytisation among Presbyterian and Methodist Christians rather than evangelisation among the heathen kraal-dwellers of the district, there is today what appears to be a vigorous Baptist community there, and room for continuous evangelisation. For this the Society has assumed responsibility. The tradition set by liberal financial support of church work by the American organisation has militated against the spirit of self-support which is the correct aim now, and as time goes on larger financial responsibilities should be undertaken by the local people.⁵⁷⁶

In the Kaffraria field report, are recorded two examples of other native ministers, whose family income was augmented by their wives’ income. This factor is explicitly stated because these ministers were evidently poorly paid. Further, their lower income needs to be understood on the one hand in light of the fact that the SABMS understood that only the native minister was in its employ, even though the wives of these ministers were expected to lead the women’s work in the churches and supply other needed ministerial support to their husbands. On the other hand, the same SABMS regarded both the European superintendent and his wife (missionary), as being in its employ. Thus, they were both paid by the Society.⁵⁷⁷ In Tshabo for example, where Rev Tylden Luxomo, a graduate of the Ennals Institute resided, under whom were: seven buildings, thirteen preaching places served by over 40 preachers, and a membership of 380, his wife, reported the deputation, “[was] a fully trained nurse, in Government employ and as the District Nurse carries on a very beneficent clinical and dispensary work among the local inhabitants thus finely supplementing her

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 23.

⁵⁷⁷ See Chapter 6.

husband's spiritual ministrations."⁵⁷⁸ To this, the deputation added, "[her income is] incidentally augmenting the family income."⁵⁷⁹ Another example is found in the East London Location, a circuit also in the Kaffraria field, under the ministerial charge of Rev Mashologu, with a church membership of 156, and two outside preaching places, Beaconsfort and Cefane, served by 15 lay-preachers. Rev Mashologu "[received] a stipend of about £7 a month met on a half-and-half basis by the Society and the Church."⁵⁸⁰ He further "travels at his own expense to the outlying centres."⁵⁸¹ But "As the expense of educating his family is at its peak (actually costing more than the whole of his annual income) Mrs. Mashologu contributes to the family budget by teaching in a local school managed by the Salvation Army."⁵⁸²

Even though the deputation occasionally raised a concern about the meagre salaries the native ministers were earning, in making recommendations on Kaffraria it did not mention the dire financial needs of these ministers. The only financial issues concerning these native ministers that the deputation mentioned in its reports were, firstly, for Rev Mashologu, who "was appointed to assist Mr Pape [thus] relinquish[ing] ... of the pastorate of the East London Church."⁵⁸³ It merely observed: "Obviously, the question of Mr Mashologu's residence would need careful consideration in view of other questions such as Mrs Mashologu's employment and the education of the family."⁵⁸⁴ But while mentioning this financial need, the deputation immediately added, that the other residence needed was for the principal of the Ennals Institute, which was "[to] be built in a suitable position on the land of the Ennals Institute."⁵⁸⁵ Even though it concluded, pertaining to the principal's residence, that this matter was to be "deferred for two years,"⁵⁸⁶ it is worth noting that the current superintendent of the field, who was also the principal of the Ennals Institute, Rev Pape, and resided in the village

⁵⁷⁸ The Kaffraria Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 23.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸² *Ibid.* As argued before, the payment of native ministers' salaries should not be perceived to have been the sole responsibility of the SABMS. On the contrary, and in most instances, the SABMS mainly distributed the money that had already come from these native local congregations. For example, at Bedford, another circuit in the Kaffraria field, it is recorded of Rev. Philip Lukuku, under whom were 112 members in this church, and who also superintended the work in the outlying districts of Pearston, Adelaide, Kirkwood, and at Riebeeck East, that "[his] salary is paid by the Society with contributions from the congregations he serves." (*Ibid.*).

⁵⁸³ The Kaffraria Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 30.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

of Berlin, already received "a monthly house allowance of £6."⁵⁸⁷ But for Rev Mashologu a similar amount (£7) was his monthly salary, and in the Transkei, about £3 would have been Rev Nqoro's monthly salary. Further, the £6 figure for Rev Pape's monthly house allowance was in addition to his monthly salary and allowance.

Finally, the working conditions of native workers in the Transvaal are reported on. This field had over 40 church centres and a total membership of over four thousand, served by the following native workers: "eighteen ordained ministers, about twelve lay pastors and evangelists and 180 other lay preachers."⁵⁸⁸ Further, as mentioned before, "Some centres are in the charge of a senior deacon, while one (i.e. at Potchefstroom) has since the death of the pastor been ministered to by one of the women leaders (the widow of the deceased minister)."⁵⁸⁹ In describing the vastness of the field and how it was impossible for the European missionary to visit all centres as frequently as desirable, to give the "necessary European guidance," the deputation wrote:

We have to visualise poorly educated pastors, helped by lay-evangelists and deacons who seldom see the European missionary and hundreds of ordinary church members who never see him. The position would not be eased very much by an increased car allowance, for the time factor is involved also.⁵⁹⁰

While on the one hand the superintendent, Rev Eriksson, travelled by car to visit these centres, on the other hand in some of these centres, where the native workers carried out mission, that is, at Springs, Germiston and Eastern Township, for example, being areas under one minister, Rev E. Mabena, "one of our most capable ministers,"⁵⁹¹ the deputation reported:

... he attempts to work that large area singlehanded. Some of his outposts are from 60 to 80 miles away. Travelling within the Reef area is considerable. But he manages to visit every centre at least once a quarter, travelling by bicycle to near-by centres and by train to those further away. Two more ministers would not be an unreasonable addition here. The Eastern

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵⁸⁸ The Transvaal Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 36.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Township has a manse but no minister at present. This is also under the already over-loaded Elias Mabena.⁵⁹²

Not all of the eighteen ministers met with the deputation nor was any of the "over forty centres" visited by it. When the deputation met with the Northern Council of the Bantu Baptist Church at Orlando, the meeting was referred to as "[the] most interesting and helpful experience ... with the leading members of this Council together with a few other Bantu brethren who were there for study ... [the deputation] was impressed with the quality and keenness of most of the men, in spite of educational disadvantages."⁵⁹³ Among them, it further wrote, were "[Revs] Lepele, Piliso, Mabena and Tusini [who] appeared to be outstanding."⁵⁹⁴ This reference to some native ministers as outstanding, over against other fellow native ministers, should be observed with a hermeneutic of suspicion. Notwithstanding this:

The Deputation was concerned at the low income which most of our ministers in the Transvaal received. This is true particularly in the case of ministers living in the towns. No one receives a net income of more than £6 a month, and most receive much less. [Piliso's salary of £5 might be compared to that of Mashologu at £7.] The churches are on the whole doing splendidly. The Germiston group under Elias Mabena find the ministers' salary in full and also contribute a further £5 a month to the central fund out of which all salaries are paid. This is a matter which should have the Executive's attention.⁵⁹⁵

In spite of its concern at the low incomes mentioned, the deputation made no recommendations regarding the native ministers' income, as was the pattern throughout the other fields as well. The deputation instead, when listing its general recommendations for all fields, wrote:

The question of pensions for disabled and aged native ministers was raised at the meeting with the Northern Council of the Bantu Baptist Church, and has been in the minds of missionaries and Executive members for some time. The Deputation recommends that the matter should

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., p. 42.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid. According to the *Report*, in the opening conference the following matters were given prominence: "A strong desire for the work of the Millard Institute to be continued; The need for, and value of, Sunday Schools; The urgent need for more day schools; The urgent need for the manual for Ministers that has been promised for so long; The urgent need also for a new edition of the Pearce Memorial Hymnal and; It was urged that no appointments (Bantu) should be made without consultation with the B.B.C. Councils." (Ibid.).

⁵⁹⁵ The Transvaal Field, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 38.

receive further sympathetic consideration. (The President was asked to interview Revs. B. E. Pape and S. Mashologu during his visit to East London, and obtain information *re* the proposed Bantu Pension Fund.).⁵⁹⁶

While the deputation was not explicit, saying only that the matter should “receive further sympathetic consideration,” it was explicit about closer supervision over these native workers through introducing a “local superintendent.” Although the preceding accounts clearly indicated that the native ministers and lay workers, including women, staffed the SABMS mission fields, some of which were only visited once a year by the superintendent, the deputation decided to recommend that Bantu churches (including ministers) be under the care of the nearest European churches and ministers:

In instances where a Native Church is near to a European Church or Churches, and so situated that a Superintendent Missionary is rarely able to visit it, a Local Committee should be formed, the members of which shall be nominated by the European Church or Churches, or Field Committee or Association sponsoring such work, but the actual appointment of which shall be in the hands of the Executive Committee of the SABMS. This local committee shall appoint one of its number as the local Superintendent of the Native Church, and he shall be the recognized link between a Superintendent Missionary and the said Committee. This local Committee shall have the oversight of the Native Church, encourage the work, and help in every way possible.⁵⁹⁷

As for the native minister,

... [he] shall be under the control of the Superintendent Missionary appointed by the Executive, but should the [European] Missionary desire to do anything that will affect either the Minister or the Church, he shall first confer with the [European] Local Committee. The Superintendent Missionary shall be informed of any proposals made by the Local Committee for the carrying on of the native work, and if and when extra expense is involved, and copies of all Minutes of the Local Committee’s meetings shall be sent to him.⁵⁹⁸

Further, when the Superintendent Missionary intends to visit such a centre, “he shall advise the Local Superintendent of this intention, so that arrangements can be made for the Local

⁵⁹⁶ General Recommendations, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 44.

⁵⁹⁷ Other General Recommendations, in *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 48.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Committee to meet him.”⁵⁹⁹ And it was stipulated that, “A copy of the Minutes of the Local Committee shall be forwarded to the General Secretary of the Field Committee or Association connected with the work.”⁶⁰⁰ Clearly, in this case, the native minister had a number of people, Europeans, to answer to. As long as there was “Baptist work” to be carried out amongst the natives by a “native agent,” and the mission field was understood to be inhabited solely by natives, these Europeans developed close control relations over their common agent, the native worker, and his territory, the native settlement. In acknowledging that “local superintendence” over native ministers and their churches was already in effect, which the *Report* served to formalise, the deputation concluded:

In making this recommendation the Deputation desires to express its appreciation and its sense of the great value of the work done in the past, and still being done, by Committees and individual [European] Ministers and others, supervising isolated causes, or causes specially circumstanced, on behalf of the Society. [In European Baptists’ discourse, “supervision” was carried out by Europeans, and never by the natives.]⁶⁰¹

8.5. Conclusion: The interwovenness of land, property, finance and people

The South African Baptists’ mission among the natives took place on the land. Miller, in her extensive work on the history, use and ownership of land in South Africa, wrote: “The factors which are generally controlling forces in any given society are invariably manifested in relation to land. Land tenure represents social, political and economic considerations for a given society in a particular stage of development.”⁶⁰²

Land has great financial value. It is no coincidence that the Baptist Church, like many other European-led churches, saw to it that it acquired land. Surely, the primary purpose of doing so was to further advance the gospel through initiating and establishing mission among the natives. Looking in particular at the South African Baptists’ discourse on land, four aspects well sum up the nature of this discourse. These are: South African Baptists’ attitude to the land; the acquisition and the building of property on the land; the finances needed to purchase

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² Miller, D. L. C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.

and maintain the land; and the people's (both the natives' and the Europeans') relations to the land.

8.5.1. South African Baptists' attitude to the land

Economically, the Europeans in South Africa did not shy away from owning the land. Their ownership of the land, which became huge in extent, was certainly made possible by the European-led South African government. The European-led churches found themselves within such a favourably pro-European environment that it was feasible for them to own as much land as possible. The land that the Europeans came to own was land that had formerly belonged to the natives. It is a myth that the land was vacant and unoccupied.

About the same time as the discovery of gold took place, appeared the first record of the Baptists' purchase of land. This was in 1889. Politically, there was a growing awareness of the resources of land in South Africa among the Europeans. Land as resource resourcefulness was certainly translated into financial terms. The value of land was to be derived from the financial output that could be derived from it. It is this financial value that was to be reflected in the SABMS's annual financial statements when it reported on the land it owned in native residential areas.

The acquisition of land, however, was not a smooth experience without serious conflicts for the South African Baptists. There was a clash between Baptist theology on the one hand and the need for finance on the other hand. That is, the Baptist congregational system whereby it is up to the local church to decide on the governance of its administration, including its finances, clashed with the national structure of the church by means of which they needed finance from local churches in order to purchase more land. This happened, in particular, in the Transvaal in 1889⁶⁰³ – the same year as the discovery of gold and the growing awareness of land as a resource – demonstrated an interesting aspect about South African Baptists and congregationalism. That is, congregationalism was sacrificed or rather, not applied to the fullest extent when national matters of the Baptist Church were at stake.

⁶⁰³ See Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 31.

It is worth noting, however, that while the South African Baptists were not reticent in acquiring land, they were at the same time conscientious about merely amassing as much land as possible. This is explained by the BU's reluctance to accept the Matebeleland and Mashonaland farms from Cecil John Rhodes. Finally when it agreed to accept these farms, they were accepted "on terms to be arranged."⁶⁰⁴

8.5.2. Acquisition and the building of property on the land

Property, which can be described as the building and land belonging to it, implies that the erection and maintenance of a building is connected with the land on which it is located. If one owns both the building and the land on which the building is located, there is a large commitment to the maintenance of both, which accompanies sustaining the financial worth of both. But when one owns one without the other, a sense of conflict arises, which necessitates either ownership of both or letting go of both. The SABMS ensured the former, that is, ownership of both the land and property.

The 1944 SABMS land and property audit of its mission fields was not simply intended to check on the land and property it owned, but also to ensure that both were properly registered as belonging to the SABMS and that their value in financial terms increased. But ensuring that both the property and land belonged to the SABMS was not an easy task. There were serious challenges that the SABMS had to address along the way. In reporting on the many centres in the Transkei that the SABMS inherited, the deputation wrote, "[this] resulted largely from the uncontrolled work of other bodies and the SABMS has inherited the burden of their probably mistaken zeal."⁶⁰⁵

8.5.3. Finances needed to purchase and maintain the land and property

Accompanying the ownership of land and property are the finances to sustain them. The finances of the Baptist Church were such that the BU occasionally contributed to the SABMS funds. With the establishment of the different funds, for the European workers of the SABMS and the BU ministers, which were established about the same period as the SAMBS undertook the land and property audit of its work, the funds of the SAMBS were to receive a

⁶⁰⁴ Notes on the Union Meetings of 1894, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 8.

⁶⁰⁵ The Transkei Field, in Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations, p. 15.

further boost. Besides these funds meant to benefit the European workers of the SAMBS, they also served to maintain the SABMS land and property in the native areas. Natives, however, did contribute financially to the purchase and maintenance of land and property.

Interestingly, some of the properties and lands that the SABMS acquired were given to it by the native converts. This interesting aspect raises a curious question: what could have motivated a native convert to give either his or her property or land or both to the SABMS?

8.5.4. A new relation to the land

With natives generally dispossessed of their land and the Europeans in possession of it, a new relation to the land had evolved. With ownership of the land in their hands, the Europeans enjoyed better livelihoods. Sadly for the natives, as they were without the land, they had to trade their labour to generate income. In other words, the land, for the natives, was no longer a source of economic wealth. This kind of scenario also played itself out within the church.

There, while the European workers had a guaranteed and stable income, their native counterparts experienced the opposite. “Appreciated,” the natives who were referred to as “native bible women” and “unpaid native workers” were, but their categorization into these terms not only tells of the sacrifices the natives made for Baptist work, but also of the economic experiences these natives underwent. This, among other issues, is what constituted the nature of the discourse of the South African Baptists in terms of finance matters.

Chapter 9
New funds and adequate training
for the European Baptist Ministry (1944-1948)

The period 1944 and the following years in South African Baptist history is best captured by the 1945 BU Assembly "Message to the Churches."¹ In this three-pages-long resolution the BU, while rejoicing at the Allied Forces Victory in the Second World War, also covered some aspects of the state of South Africa, particularly in terms of the opportunities it offered and the relations between the blacks and whites in the country. This resolution (Message to the Churches) informed the BU's agenda for years following, particularly until 1948, as will be discussed in this chapter. Briefly, three particular aspects emerge strongly in this resolution.

Firstly, it is the aspect of the BU's emphasis on the liberty to worship God. On this, the Assembly wrote: "[that it] is assured that our Baptist people will remember, with great thankfulness, that the liberty for which our fathers fought, and died, has again been secured to them 'at a great price.'"² Continuing, the resolution recorded: "the thought that many of our younger people have had a larger share of service in many capacities on the home front gives the Assembly much satisfaction."³ This "unfettered liberty to worship God," was, according to the Assembly, the liberty to "proclaim freely the Gospel of His Son, to all peoples and to do the will of God as revealed in His Word."⁴ Thus the Assembly concluded: "This Freedom must be treasured, maintained, and passed on intact to our children."⁵ In other words, the resolution was echoing the Assembly's support of the Baptists who participated in the war, since their participation would further secure the liberty to worship God. Noting that participation in the war was because of and in support of a specific country, the South African Baptists supported England, the country that was their "home."⁶

¹ See Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, pp. 62-64.

² Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 63.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See Chapter 1 & 2 in Volume One.

The second aspect that comes to the fore in this resolution is the racial division in South Africa. In introducing this aspect, the resolution began: "In this our South Africa, a land fair and full of promise, and with much material prosperity,"⁷ and continued, "we are confronted with a population racially divided, and with ominous signs of hostility between some of the racial groups."⁸ About the poor whites, the resolution continued: "Ten, maybe hundreds of thousands are living on the poverty line or below it, badly fed, badly or insufficiently housed."⁹ Concerning the natives (including the coloureds), the only mention that the resolution made was: "many of our native and especially of our coloured population [are] enslaved by [alcoholic] drink."¹⁰

The poor conditions that the majority of the natives in the country lived under, that the resolution negated to mention, surprisingly, noting only that: "In regard to national unity our denomination had been through years of stress and composed as it is of various races is a denomination of racial peace."¹¹ As for the "social conditions in our land" which the resolution specifically referred to as "unrighteous," the resolution continued, "we certainly should be unworthy of the Lord, 'whose we are and whom we serve,' if we fail to answer the challenge of the times to renew all our efforts to win the people around us of Christ and His Church."¹² The Assembly's response to this aspect (racial division and the poverty of most people) in the resolution and the earlier one (securing the liberty for which "our fathers fought") were clearly contradictory. The Assembly preferred, on the one hand, to be proactive in order to safeguard this "unfettered liberty," through giving its support to soldiers who participated in the Second World War. On the other hand, the same Assembly was inactive, and "spiritualized," or "privatized"¹³ its response to the racial divisions and the poor conditions that the majority of the citizens, the natives, lived under. This contradiction was to characterize the BU's responses to the government's oppressive legislation against the natives, as will be observed.

⁷ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 63.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. In this period, this kind of response (welfarism) by the English Christians was similar to that of the English liberals in the South African political history. (See later discussion in this chapter.)

¹⁰ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 63.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., pp. 63-64.

¹³ See later discussion on the "privatization of the Christian faith" by the South African Baptists, in this chapter.

The last aspect that the resolution covered was the problem of the self-containment of the Baptist churches. According to the resolution: "The Assembly fears that in our church life we tend to be isolated and self-contained and content if our churches are nurseries for our spiritual life."¹⁴ The resolution continued: "The Lord's battles are not to be won by sitting at ease. We must bestir and enlarge our borders and strengthen stakes in the communities around us."¹⁵ Further, according to the resolution: "Remembering that the Holy Spirit is not limited by denominational barriers we should seek in any aggressive work we may undertake to join hands where possible with others who are willing and likeminded."¹⁶ In fighting these battles, the BU would however, only pass "convenient resolutions"¹⁷ on matters where it "criticized" the government for its oppressive legislation against the natives, while on resolutions where the BU criticized the government for hindering its mission among the natives, it garnered the support of other denominations, as will be observed.

9.1. New funds for the BU and the SABMS (1944-1948)

9.1.1. Thanksgiving Fund (1944)

Preceding the formation of the Thanksgiving Fund, also known as the Victory and Peace Thanksgiving Fund, was a fund called the Bombed British Churches Fund, which was formed in 1941, during the Second World War. By August 1941, the total amount contributed by the South African churches "was £788.12s.2d., £633.6s.11d. of which has been remitted to London. The balance in hand will be forwarded very soon."¹⁸ In 1943, it was reported: "Although the main fund was closed some time ago two donations have been received from Sunday Schools for transmission to the Baptist Union of Great Britain for the help of Sunday Schools that have suffered through the war."¹⁹ This was the last report on this fund. In 1944, during the BU Assembly, immediately following the report and

¹⁴ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 64.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. Already in this period, the BU had participated in a conference at Fort Hare University, and was a member of the Christian Council of South Africa. See later discussion in this chapter.

¹⁷ See later discussion.

¹⁸ BU Executive Reports for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 5. See the same *Report* for a copy of one of the letters received from the secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, acknowledging receipt of the amount and appreciating this assistance.

¹⁹ BU Executive Reports for 1942-1943, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 5. See the same *Report* for a copy of the letters of appreciation from the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, acknowledging assistance they received from Baptists all over the world.

recommendations on the "Missionary Survey,"²⁰ the following resolution was adopted "unanimously and enthusiastically":

Humbly recognizing God's great goodness and mercy towards us in that we have been spared the horrors and sufferings and deprivations of war to a greater extent than any other country involved in the present world conflict, we, the members of this Assembly, wholeheartedly endorse the Executive's recommendation that the Denomination be asked to raise a Thanksgiving Fund of not less than Fifteen Thousand Pounds for the development of Baptist work and the furtherance of the Baptist evangelical witness in Southern Africa, and hereby pledge ourselves to do all we can to help in raising such a fund.²¹

Regarding this amount, the Assembly endorsed "the recommendation that two-thirds of whatever sum is raised shall be devoted to the development of work under the auspices of the [Baptist] Union and the remaining third to the development of work under the auspices of the Missionary Society."²² The Assembly further "agree[d] that the administration and allocation of the Fund be entrusted to the Executive on the understanding that, on the one hand, the money shall not be hoarded but used as expeditiously as possible as it becomes available and, on the other hand, that all suggestions for its use shall receive careful consideration in relation to the needs and development of the Denomination's work as a whole."²³ To realize these goals, Mr E. V. Baker and Rev C. Garratt were appointed joint commissioners for the fund, "with authority to appoint assistant Commissioners in various areas if and as they may deem desirable, and ... [were] also authorized to appoint a Treasurer for the Fund in consultation with the Executive."²⁴

The following year, in 1945, the BU Executive reported: "The latest figures available indicate that nearly £11,000 has been given or promised."²⁵ And remarked, "For this heartening result special thanks are due to Mr. E. V. Baker who has done almost all the

²⁰ See Chapter 8 on this "Missionary Survey."

²¹ Minutes of the 1944 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 71.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ BU Executive Reports for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 4.

organizing work with characteristic energy and self-sacrifice.”²⁶ The SABWA, known for generously supporting the BU funds, also raised £267 for this fund.²⁷ The same year, 1945, the SABMS Executive reported that, “It will be remembered that when the Victory and Peace Thanksgiving Fund was launched at the 1944 Assembly it was resolved that one third of the amount raised should be allocated to missionary development. The Executive rejoice to learn that already about £3,000 is in hand for this purpose.”²⁸ Further, during the Assembly, the fund’s treasurer, Mr E. V. Baker, “paid tribute to the generous response of individuals and the Churches; he reported cash and promises amounting to £12,908.”²⁹ Given the amount raised and promises made for this fund, all within a year, there is no doubt that the fund had raised more money within a short period of time, than any other fund in the history of the Baptist Church in South Africa.

Also during the 1945 Assembly, the BU general secretary, Rev C. Garratt, “appealed for the completion of the Fund and promises were made amounting to £1,623, making a grand total of £14,531.”³⁰ In addition, “The Assembly united in thanks to God for this response to the appeal that was launched only a year ago.”³¹ Further, the following resolution was adopted: “The Assembly hereby records its thankfulness for the manifest tokens of unity, liberality and cheerfulness which have been so apparent among our Churches in the joint effort to raise a Thanksgiving Fund of £15,000 for Baptist extension and development. It takes appreciative cognizance of the services of the Commissioners appointed by the last Assembly to organize and raise this sum in record time in the history of the Denomination and rejoices that the strength for this purpose has been granted to them by Almighty God.”³² The resolution continued: “The Assembly desires specially to recognize the outstanding service rendered by Mr E. V. Baker who, at a time when he had earned a well deserved rest after much service to the Denomination, and despite advancing years and failing health, threw himself unsparingly, with striking singleness of purpose, into this effort. Realizing that our brother may not be able much longer to continue such strenuous service, the Assembly lovingly commends him

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

²⁸ SABMS Executive Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 22.

²⁹ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-46, p. 73.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

to the sustaining grace of our Heavenly Father, praying that his latter years may indeed be crowning years in love and service for the Master."³³

Noting, as indicated above, the BU's support of the Allied Forces in the Second World War, when the BU, during the Assembly of 1945, "share[d] their heartfelt thanksgiving to the Lord our God that victory had been mercifully granted,"³⁴ clearly the European Christians, in this case, those in the Baptist Church of South Africa, had no problem participating in war, particularly if it was in defence of their nation.³⁵ It was in instances such as these that Jabavu, a native minister, observed a contradiction between what the European Christians preached and what they practiced. Commenting on the European missionaries' support of the First World War, an argument still applicable in their support of the Second World War, Jabavu³⁶ wrote: "The attitude of Christian missions towards war has always struck the African thinker as one of enigmatic inconsistency."³⁷ That is, "while the New Testament exhorts, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' the missionaries pray to the God of peace for victory in war."³⁸ Thus, Jabavu posed the questions: "Is war Christian or un-Christian? And ought not Christians to be examples, in attitude of mind as well as deed, of the ideal standard of Jesus?"³⁹

In 1946, two years after the formation of the fund, the fund's treasurer reported that, "with interest earned on moneys placed on deposit, the £15,000 aimed at has been exceeded."⁴⁰ Also by this period, the BU Executive had started giving "careful consideration to the allocation of the Fund, each application being considered at two meetings at least."⁴¹ The women's body, SABWA, again made a contribution to this fund. This time they contributed £405.16s.⁴² The SABMS Executive in its *Report* found it appropriate, when speaking of the fund, to mention: "It is no vain repetition to express again deep gratitude to God that the

³³ Ibid., pp. 73-74.

³⁴ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 63.

³⁵ The concept of "nation" in this case is not limited to geographical space. In the case of the settler colonial discourse, it also refers to the "home" countries that the settlers in the colonies came from.

³⁶ Though not a Baptist, he was during his lifetime, one of the most prominent native writers. Of particular interest this research project, are his works that dialogued Christianity and the social issues of the day.

³⁷ Jabavu, D. D. T. *Op. Cit.*, p. 123.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ BU Executive Reports for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 4.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., p. 10.

Thanksgiving Fund has been completed except for the fulfillment of a few outstanding promises.”⁴³ Hence, “£5,000 has become available for missionary development and extension.”⁴⁴ After consideration of claims and applications made by the various Field Committees and by Superintendent Missionaries, for which a special sub-committee was appointed, the funds were allocated as follows: “To the Southern field, £1,269. To the Northern field, £1,588. To the Natal field, £1,000. To the Lambaland field, £900. This leaves a small balance in hand for contingencies.”⁴⁵ Reporting on the new location work, the SABMS Executive reported, among other facts, that the “grant from the [BU] Executive from the Thanksgiving Fund has formed the nucleus of a fund for the building of a church at Chesterville.”⁴⁶

The total funds raised since the inception of the fund during the BU Assembly of 1944 up until 30th June 1946, three months prior to the BU Assembly, were £15,658.1s.1d. These funds were raised in the form of donations (£14,065.9s.2d.), Christmas Dinner Gifts (£569.9s.), Baptist Women’s Associations (£884.3s.4d.) and interest on investments (£138.19s.7d.).⁴⁷ Given the success of the fund, in less than two years, to the extent of even exceeding the intended amount, clearly the BU possessed committed members who were willing to contribute to its cause. Further, this success demonstrated the BU’s knowledge on how best to administer and invest its funds. During the 1946 BU Assembly, in addition to the targeted £15,000 for this fund, “two special gifts were received with deep appreciation.”⁴⁸ These were: “Mr and Mrs H. E. Schmidt, of King Williams Town, [who] sent £50 in addition to the fulfillment of their generous promise to the Thanksgiving Fund, and Mr and Mrs S. J. Thomas, of Brakpan, [who] sent £5 for extension work.”⁴⁹ Also during the Assembly, Rev E. V. Baker, the “Chief Commissioner and Treasurer,”⁵⁰ presented a financial statement showing that, “up to September, 1946, 66 Churches and Mission Churches had helped in the

⁴³ SABMS Executive Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 16.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴⁷ BU of SA and SABMS Thanksgiving Fund of £15,000 Statement of Expenditure and Payments for period October 1944 to 30th June 1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 50.

⁴⁸ Minutes of 1946 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 56.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

raising of the Fund, as well as the SABWA who hoped to make their contribution up to £1,000.”⁵¹ Thus the total amount received, including interest earned, was £16,175.12s.”⁵²

On receiving this announcement the Assembly stood and sang the Doxology. It was agreed that the Fund be now considered closed as far as appeals are concerned, but that the Treasurer be authorized to collect outstanding donations and amounts to fulfill outstanding promises.⁵³

Clearly, and as argued before,⁵⁴ the European-led BU, when it had to raise funds for fellow European churches, made every effort to ensure that these funds were raised. Also, as argued before,⁵⁵ the Europeans could manage to raise these funds due to the country’s history of dispossession and the new pro-European economy that favoured them. Regarding the size of this fund, in 1947 the BU Executive in its *Report* reported: “This is by far the largest Fund ever raised by the Denomination and the Executive believes that extension work has been fostered that will pay good spiritual dividends in the future.”⁵⁶ While celebrating the achievement of exceeding the amount of £15,000, the *Report* further noted that, “it has not been possible to buy up every opportunity and there are those who believe the Denomination would rise enthusiastically to an appeal for a Forward Movement Fund to follow the Thanksgiving Fund.”⁵⁷ Concerning this, “the Assembly will be given the opportunity to express its mind on this suggestion.”⁵⁸

By 30th June 1947, the closing of the BU’s 1947 financial year, the fund’s total amount was £16,359.6s.9d. The breakdown of this amount was as follows: £13,000 invested in the Building Society, £2,414.14s.1d. in the Guardian Savings Bank, £390.7s.11d. from donations, £114.15s.8d. from the Baptist Women’s Associations and £439.9s.1d. from interest on investments.⁵⁹ The Assembly made the allocation of funds as follows, from the

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ See Chapter 6.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ BU Executive Reports for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 26.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ BU of SA and SABMS Thanksgiving Fund of £15,000 Statement of Receipts and Payments as at 30th June 1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 82.

Baptist Union portion: "Afrikaanse Extension, £1,000, [being] £800 plus £200 on loan. Vereeniging, £1,000 for the purchase of a site. Ministerial removal expenses, £100, 11s. 5d. Available balance not allocated."⁶⁰ From the Missionary portion, only £500 was allocated towards the cost of a church to be erected at Langa, Cape Town. Thus, "The whole of the Missionary portion of the fund has now been allocated."⁶¹ If one looks closely at the allocation of the missionary portion, it is evident that the respective churches and "fields" that received these funds were not strictly native. Instead, they included Indians and coloureds. Therefore these funds were not to be distributed solely to the native churches. At the same note, the point should be made that the SABMS mission work should not be understood to be solely amongst the natives, though they constituted the majority of its targets.

The following year, "The whole of the amount subscribed to the Union portion of the Fund, with interest earned and available, [was reported] allocated."⁶² The following were the grants made. Firstly, the Transvaal received £5,350. This was divided as follows: Johannesburg North Eastern Suburbs £3,000, Vereeniging (for approved site) £1,000, Dunnottar (£200 on loan) £1,000, and Vanderbijl Park (for site) £350.⁶³ Taking Vereeniging as an example, and to confirm earlier arguments,⁶⁴ clearly, the amount of money spent on the purchase of sites in white residential areas was far higher than that in native areas. This again raises the issue of differing "land value" between white and black residential areas.⁶⁵ Secondly, the Cape received an amount of £2,100. This was £1,000 for Belville, £350 for Kimberley Afrikaans Church and £750 for Observatory, Cape Flats.⁶⁶ Thirdly, Natal received an amount of £1,200. It was divided as follows: Durban £500, Port Shepstone £500 and Fynnland £200.⁶⁷ Finally the Eastern⁶⁸ received an amount of £1,400.⁶⁹ This was £1,000 for Newton Park, Port

⁶⁰ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 86.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² BU Executive Reports for 1947-1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 28.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ See Chapters 6 & 8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ BU Executive Reports for 1947-1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 28.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ According to BU minutes, this is only referred to as the "Eastern" and not the "Eastern Cape." This term (Eastern) referred to the Port Elizabeth area.

⁶⁹ BU Executive Reports for 1947-1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 28.

Elizabeth and £400 for Mount Pleasant, also in Port Elizabeth. In addition to these distributions was an additional amount of £1,000 that was disbursed to the Afrikaans Baptiste Kerk and also £120 for ministerial removal expenses. These grants in total amounted to £11,170.⁷⁰

9.1.2. The Insurance Agency Proposal

About the same period that the Thanksgiving Fund was formed, the BU encouraged the European churches' participation in the Insurance Scheme. The BU's Insurance Agency Proposal first came before the BU Assembly in 1938. The resolution read: "That the Executive be requested to consider, as soon as possible, the question of the insuring of Church buildings, motor-cars, and other personal property through Llyods Insurance Company under a special arrangement by which commissions would come to the funds of the [Baptist] Union."⁷¹ Further, the Assembly asked the BU Executive "to publish their report in the South African Baptist and also to send it to all Churches so that they may consider any recommendations."⁷² The following year, 1939, the BU Executive reported, however: "At the last Assembly an Insurance Scheme was adopted, under which The Baptist Union receives a percentage of all premiums paid under the scheme to the approved Society (Lloyds). Those who ensure receive terms as good or better than other Societies give. Property, motor-cars, etc., can be insured, and already many Churches have insured their buildings under this scheme. The Executive hopes that every Church will, if at all possible, adopt the proposal. If many Church Members and others will insure their property and motor-cars a considerable sum will accrue to The Baptist Union."⁷³

For some years following, the BU's call to churches to participate in the Insurance Scheme was never reported in the BU minutes. It was only in 1945, during the BU Assembly that the BU asked the churches "that have not already done so ... to consider participation in the denominational insurance scheme by which the funds of the [Baptist] Union benefit

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Minutes of 1938 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 64.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ BU Executive Reports for 1938-1939, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 9.

substantially.”⁷⁴ Unfortunately, there are no records in the BU’s financial statements of the percentages on premiums paid by the churches that the BU earned. Nevertheless, two years later, the BU Executive reported: “While it is not the most important item in the accounts the Executive would call attention to the appreciable amount received in Insurance Commission; this could be increased greatly if all Churches would insure their buildings, manses, cars, etc., under the [Baptist] Union scheme.”⁷⁵ This call was without doubt, addressed to the European churches. By the close of 1948, when the BU Executive reported that “the [European] Ministers of the Denomination owe an immense debt of gratitude to those who started the present Pension Fund ... [and are] equally indebted to the Pension Fund Management Committee,”⁷⁶ it added that, “the question has been raised whether, with the great advance in Insurance methods, an even more advantageous scheme is not now possible.”⁷⁷

Concerning this “even more advantageous scheme,” the *Report of the BU Executive* continued, “The matter has been thoroughly investigated by a strong Committee, which has had the benefit of consultation with the Managers of the present Fund and with the Port Elizabeth Manager of the South African Mutual Life Assurance Society, and a new Annuity-Insurance scheme will be presented to the Assembly for acceptance or otherwise.”⁷⁸ Further, particulars of the scheme “have been sent to all our [European] churches for consideration and an expression of opinion. All the replies received have been in favour of its adoption.”⁷⁹ Furthermore, according to the BU Executive, “The managers of the present Pension Fund point out that, while the new scheme offers certain advantages in the matter of insurance and benefits for dependants, it offers a considerably lower annuity payable at the age of 65.”⁸⁰ Thus, immediately following the 1948 BU Assembly, it was decided to adopt “[The] Old Mutual Scheme as the Denominational Pension-Insurance Scheme for the future, with effect from 1st July, 1949.”⁸¹

⁷⁴ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 75.

⁷⁵ BU Executive Reports for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 26.

⁷⁶ BU Executive Reports for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 41.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Minutes of 1949 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 113.

9.1.3. The Forward Movement Fund (1947)

Following on the interest expressed earlier by the 1946 Assembly into establishing such a fund, after it was announced that the targeted £15,000 for the Thanksgiving Fund had been reached exceeded, in 1947, "Mr A. T. Babbs urged the starting of a Forward Movement Fund for the all round development of our work."⁸² He further motivated, "in administering the Thanksgiving Fund, the Executive had made two discoveries; first, that the amount raised could only do half of what was expected because of increased building costs and, second, that many calls had been made which could not be met."⁸³ Concluding his point, Mr Babbs "outlined a number of matters that were urgently pressing themselves upon the leaders of the Denomination."⁸⁴ Finally, Mr Babbs moved the following resolution:

In view of the increasing opportunities and development in South Africa and Rhodesia, this Assembly of the South African Baptist Union resolves that a Committee be formed to launch a forward movement fund in order to carry out our Lord's Commission:

I. That this Committee be instructed to envisage a capital of at least £50,000 in order: -

1. To establish a training centre for [European] ministers and missionaries. [sic]
2. Development in new areas and some existing centres.
3. Administration assistance.
4. Book Room development.
5. Augmentation of [European] missionary staff and new buildings in Native and non-European townships;

II. That this Committee investigate and prepare plans embodying the above proposals, including also Evangelistic advance, and the incorporation as far as possible of local schemes, with power to submit the proposals to the churches.

III. That the fund be known as the FORWARD MOVEMENT FUND, which this Assembly now approves and adopts.⁸⁵

⁸² Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 91.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 91-92.

The proposal was seconded by Rev J. L. Green and adopted by the Assembly. It was further agreed that the Executive be authorised to decide the personnel of the Committee on the understanding that it would centre on the Reef, "with the President (Rev. R. H. Philpott) as convenor, and with corresponding members in all main centres where we have work. A number of names were suggested and these were passed on to the Executive."⁸⁶ During the same Assembly, of 1947, a proposal pertaining to the "Training of Candidates for our [European] Ministry"⁸⁷ was also approved. This proposal is discussed later on in this chapter.

At the following year's (1948) Assembly, the Forward Movement Committee was appointed. It consisted of Rev R. H. Philpott as its chairman, Mr S. Durston as the treasurer, and Mr G. Corbin as the secretary. In addition to these, the following were elected as additional members: Mrs A. H. Chapman, Revs W. Edmunds, E. B. Edwards, C. F. and J. L. Green, C. Surmon, E. Williams, Messrs A. Durston and H. Hellyer.⁸⁸ Describing the office bearers, Rev Philpot, the chairman of the committee said, "now [that] able and energetic young men had accepted the Secretaryship and Treasurership ... it was hoped the Fund would forge ahead."⁸⁹ He further reported: "Literature had been circulated to the Churches and further leaflets, promise forms, collecting envelopes etc., were available or in course of preparation. The amount in hand, in cash, and promises, was £1,310.8s.8d. During the Assembly further generous promises were made, amounting to £1,058."⁹⁰

But towards the close of 1948, the fund "had not gathered the momentum which its inauguration in 1947 seemed to [have promised]."⁹¹ There were, according to the BU Executive, "reasons for that, among them being the shouldering of heavy burdens in not a few Churches, and perhaps to a larger degree than we imagine, the economic uncertainty prevailing in the country."⁹² In the *Report*, the BU Executive further wrote: "In addition to

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Minutes of the 1948 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 91.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ BU Executive Reports for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 39.

⁹² *Ibid.* See also the following work for an overview of the state of the economy during this period: Bothma, L. J. (1993). *The Origin and Changes in the Wages Gap between Races in the South African Economy: 1860-1970*. Orange Free State: University of Orange Free State. [Unpublished D. Economics Thesis.].

this, the Ministerial Training Centre Scheme has loomed large in recent months, and while it is a vital part of the Forward Movement proposals it has cut across the Committee's work of forwarding the main fund."⁹³ Furthermore, "It has been the considered judgment of the Committee that the Fund lacked concentrated appeal, so that when the Training Centre Scheme got under way the Executive agreed to the recommendation of the Forward Movement Committee that all effort be concentrated upon the raising of the initial £10,000, required for the launching of this project, while still keeping the other objects of the Fund before our people to permit gifts of being received towards objects which make a special individual appeal."⁹⁴ As a result, "This, obviously, put the brake upon the Forward Movement Committee, as the Training Scheme had to be prepared, presented to the Churches, and their response awaited."⁹⁵

Commenting on its progress, the Forward Movement Committee wrote: "This has not meant inactivity on the part of the Forward Movement Committee. Special advertisements have been prepared and inserted in the 'S.A.B.'; the Ministers have had correspondence specially addressed to them; plans have been made for a visitation of the Churches to push the £10,000 appeal as soon as the word 'Go' has been received, and Churches have been circularized accordingly, their replies being awaited at the time of writing."⁹⁶ In concluding its *Report*, addressed to the Assembly, the committee wrote: "It has been agreed that as soon as the Scheme has been adopted the two Committees shall co-operate in making every effort to raise the required sum as quickly as possible."⁹⁷ These two committees were: the Forward Movement Committee and the committee overseeing the Training Centre Scheme.

9.1.4. The SABMS Holiday Fund and the Manse Fund (1945)

Post-1944, despite the SABMS deputation's visit to the SABMS native mission fields, which made the Europeans-only delegation aware of the dire conditions under which the native

⁹³ BU Executive Reports for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 39.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40. Amounts received by 30th June 1949, less administration expenses, totalled £4,051, of which £734 was earmarked for specific objects, leaving £3,317 as available money.

ministers and evangelists laboured for the Baptist Church of South Africa,⁹⁸ the status quo continued. The benefits and privileges for European workers were continued, while their fellow native workers remained destitute. For example, in 1945, the SABMS Executive in its *Report* observed: "Supporters of the Society will be glad to know that it has been possible to arrange for a retiring allowance to Rev W. and Mrs Brailsford that will at least add to their comfort in the evening of life."⁹⁹ About this, "Mr and Mrs. Brailsford have written expressing their great appreciation."¹⁰⁰ In the same year, the SABMS statement of income and expenditure indicated that an amount of £1,107.16s.2d. was spent on pensions, travelling expenses, insurances and other related expenses.¹⁰¹ Further, the SABMS European workers were assisted from the Emergency Fund, which by the close of the 1945 financial year reported an expenditure of £2,815.14s.2d. from the estate of the late Mr W. R. Perks.¹⁰² Again in 1945, the SABMS reported in the financial statement, under the list of assets, that motorcars for European workers, less depreciation, were valued at £75.¹⁰³ The following year, in 1946, the same benefits that the European SABMS workers had enjoyed in the previous year were still being enjoyed. For example, the contribution that the SABMS made to the BU Pension Fund on their behalf, in 1946, amounted to £47.¹⁰⁴ It is against this background, that is, the situation of the continued benefits¹⁰⁵ that the European workers enjoyed, that another fund, this time the Holiday Fund, was also formed as yet another benefit for European workers. About native workers, nothing can be said since the last fund formed for them was grudgingly formed in 1920.¹⁰⁶

In 1946, the SABMS Executive reported: "It is with satisfaction that the Executive is able to report that the generous bequest of the late Mr W. R. Perks has made it possible for the

⁹⁸ See Chapter 8 for a discussion on this visit by the deputation.

⁹⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 26.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ See SABMS Income and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 56.

¹⁰² SABMS Balance Sheet Special Purposes Fund as at 30th June 1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 55.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ SABMS Expenditure and Revenue Account for the twelve months ending 30th June 1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 45.

¹⁰⁵ Another of such benefits was the furloughs (see Chapter 6) which the European workers occasionally took. By the close of 1948, Rev Eriksson, Superintendent of the Transvaal field, was reported for example, to have "greatly improved in health and is enjoying a six months furlough in Sweden amongst his relatives, the first for 13 years." (SABMS Report for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1945, p. 61.).

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter 6.

provision of a holiday fund from which [European] Missionaries will receive an allowance towards their annual holiday expenses.”¹⁰⁷ The Executive further reported: “By the earmarking of the proceeds of the sale of the Durban house left to the Society, and the addition of a sum annually from general funds, an allowance of £20 for each married Missionary, and £10 for each unmarried Missionary on the present staff has been arranged.”¹⁰⁸ While the SABMS could afford to spend such an amount on its European workers as a holiday allowance, this amount was equivalent to an entire year’s wage for some native ministers.¹⁰⁹ On introducing the Holiday Fund, the Executive “express[ed] its warm appreciation of a generous offer made by Rev A. B. Arnot and his brother, Mr H. C. A. Arnot, who have placed their cottage at Kwelegha Mouth, near East London, at the disposal of S.A.B.M.S. Missionaries during several months in the year.”¹¹⁰ By the closing of the following financial year, 1947, an amount of £100 had reportedly been spent from this fund.¹¹¹ And in 1948, the amount spent from this fund was £70.¹¹²

The year prior to the formation of the Holiday Fund, another fund, which is not immediately obvious in the BU minutes, was also formed: the Manse Fund, in 1945. The only record during this year about this fund, was that the South African Baptist Women’s Association (SABWA) had contributed £69.10s. towards it.¹¹³ The fund, as the name explains, was to be used for the manse-related expenses of the European ministers and missionaries. The following year, SABWA also sent another contribution. This time it was £65.13s.3d.¹¹⁴ This amount, however, was the last record of this fund.

¹⁰⁷ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 29.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter 6 & 8.

¹¹⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 29.

¹¹¹ SABMS Expenditure and Revenue Account for the twelve months ending 30th June 1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 79.

¹¹² SABMS Expenditure and Revenue Account for the twelve months ending 30th June 1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 79. In 1949, the amount spent on the Holiday Fund was £50, the same amount as that spent on the Pension Fund contributions for SABMS European workers. (See SABMS Expenditure and Revenue Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 96.).

¹¹³ BU Executive Reports for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 16.

¹¹⁴ BU Executive Reports for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 10.

9.2. A comparison between the training of European ministers and native ministers

9.2.1. The training of native ministers

After 1944, the training of native ministers took more or less the same pattern as it had before 1944.¹¹⁵ That is, major training took place at the Millard Institute and “refresher training” at the Ennals Institute. Further, refresher training was also carried out at the different native churches according to the plans of the fields’ superintendents. Besides the Baptist training institutions, the SABMS also allowed some of its native ministers to be trained at the Union Bible Institute at Sweetwaters, in Natal. In 1945, the Millard Institute in Soweto, Johannesburg, was reportedly continuing under the “valuable voluntary service”¹¹⁶ of Rev T. Chapman, and a new course was begun in August 1944. “In the first term there were 10 students, and in the second term 11, as the Rev J. Lepele expressed his desire to attend.”¹¹⁷ Further, a refresher course was held in November 1944, “attended by 31 Bantu Ministers and other workers, the largest number to attend such a course to date.”¹¹⁸ According to Rev Eriksson, superintendent of the Transvaal field, “It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the value of these refresher courses to men doing the work of pastors and evangelists with the most meager educational equipment, but eager to be helped.”¹¹⁹ The total cost of this training by the close of the 1945 financial year was £229.10s.¹²⁰

The following year, 1946, eleven students were trained at the Millard Institute. This, for Rev Eriksson, Superintendent of the field, was “an outstanding piece of work during the year under review.”¹²¹ Further, according to Rev Eriksson, “it was a never-to-be-forgotten and inspiring sight to see eleven men of different ages, tribes and tongues lined up in front of the pulpit of the Orlando Church to receive from their honoured teacher their leaving Certificates.”¹²² About this occasion Rev Eriksson commented: “Lest some not understanding should make some insidious comparisons with other training work, it should

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 7.

¹¹⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 28.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ SABMS Income and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 56.

¹²¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 20.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

be explained again that the supreme value of the service rendered by Rev T. Chapman lies mainly in the fact that he saw the dire need of our faithful but largely illiterate Bantu workers in the Transvaal field and gave himself to putting them through an invaluable course of intensive instruction by which their ministry has been enriched. In his work Mr Chapman was ably seconded by Mr. Eriksson, to whose ability as an interpreter not a little of the success of the effort has been due."¹²³

It should be remembered that literacy, according to European missionaries, meant only the European form of literacy.¹²⁴ And if a Bantu was not competent in reading European languages, such a Bantu was, according to European criteria, illiterate. The same argument, in my opinion, that the Europeans used against the natives to describe them as illiterate because they were not competent in European literacy could also be used by the Bantu to describe the Europeans as also being illiterate because they were not competent in Bantu languages.¹²⁵ The few Bantu or Europeans literate in the others' languages should not be used to override the essence of this argument. Unfortunately, influential native Christian leaders also advanced the European perception of literacy, as being only competent in "European literacy." One such leader was Rev D. D. T. Jabavu. Writing favourably about the European missionaries, as early as 1928, Jabavu's arguments ranged from: the missionaries "brought words of hope to the hopeless [natives],"¹²⁶ the missionaries laid "foundations ... for the modernization of the African,"¹²⁷ to "the Christian religion is the most uplifting and civilizing agency the world has ever produced."¹²⁸ Given this line of thought, it is therefore not surprising that when discussing the educational system that the missionaries brought to South Africa, Jabavu sang its praises. Briefly, according to Jabavu:

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ See Chapter 7.

¹²⁵ Literacy is in this case, again not used to refer strictly to the European understanding of literacy. Further, I do note Prof Denis's two questions in giving feedback on my work in progress. Firstly, do I know any indigenous person who is only literate in a Bantu language? Secondly, is not literacy in itself a western import? Pertaining the first, it is a far-fetched question in light of the thrust of the study. I do not doubt however, that there is scholarly evidence on indigenous people who were only literate in Bantu language. Pertaining the second question, my answer is, literacy is not a western import. Unfortunately, Prof Denis seems to think that western literacy is the definitive standard of what literacy is about.

¹²⁶ Jabavu, D. D. T. *Op. Cit.*, p. 117.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 118.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 132.

A mission station was always a bright beacon and a lighted window in darkness. Of the three agencies of civilization, the missionary enterprise constitutes the most important, the other two being conquest and commerce. Missionaries in Africa transformed the lives of the blacks and inculcated the principles of humility, love, obedience, peacefulness, of work and honesty, of cleanliness and sanitation. They founded schools, beginning with Sunday schools and elementary schools in the 'twenties, following in the 'fifties with secondary institutions of the type of Lovedale and Healdtown, of which there are now about 30 in South Africa. These are capped by the Native University College at Fort Hare which trains for degree in Arts, Science, Pedagogy, Theology and Medicine. In a word, the missionaries were beneficent in the humanities and peaceful arts of civilization.¹²⁹

Looking closely at Jabavu's arguments, there is no doubt¹³⁰ that he was uncritical of the very system of which he was a product, and also of its "beneficence" over against his fellow blacks.¹³¹ Blacks such as Jabavu, graduates of missionary schools, who in his opinion contribute "[to] a slow but sure metamorphosis from a primitive conservatism to an aggressive modernism, in both political and religious affairs,"¹³² clearly "fail" to appreciate the good in native culture, which after graduating from mission schools, they perceive to be primitive and conservative. Further, according to Jabavu, still singing the praises of European missionaries, it was these missionaries that "were the first whites to establish friendly contacts with Native Africans, in contrast with their commercial fellowmen who brought the sword and dispossessed us of some of our beloved territory."¹³³ There is no doubt that there were missionaries who were friendly towards the natives to such an extent that fellow Europeans looked upon them with suspicion.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Ibid., pp. 118-119.

¹³⁰ I do maintain the stance and utterance: "there is no doubt" This is because, if we are working on the public transcript, which is Jabavu's written work, an opinion can be formed based on the views communicated by the author, in it. As an author, I do believe there is room in the discourse for me to communicate my opinion. This is the purpose among others, what writing is about.

¹³¹ D. D. T. Jabavu and his father John Tengo Jabavu were educated at Lovedale and Healdtown missions respectively (Rich, P. 1993. *Hope and Despair: English-Speaking Intellectuals and South African Politics 1896-1976*. London: British Academic Press, p. 2.). See also Eveleigh, W. 1923. *Op. Cit.*, p. 16[b].

¹³² Jabavu, D. D. T. 1928. *Op. Cit.*, p. 116.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 118.

¹³⁴ See Donaldson, M. "Nineteenth-century Missionaries: the Need for a Contextualized History," in *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Volume XVIII, No. 2, December 1992, pp. 60-79.

Coming back to the discussion on native theological education, in the same *SABMS Report for 1945-1946*, the SABMS Executive reported: "At the March Executive meetings it was decided that Mr. Eriksson must be released from this extra work [of interpreting for Rev Chapman] now the more urgent need has been met, and suggestions regarding the training of ministerial candidates in future will come before the Assembly."¹³⁵ During the BU Assembly of the same year, 1946, a resolution was passed in appreciation of Rev Chapman, "[who] gave himself voluntarily to the great task and for four years spared neither time nor strength in a service of which it would be difficult to overstate the value."¹³⁶ The Assembly further stated, "[that] it realized that it cannot adequately reward Mr. Chapman for his labour of love, but asks him to accept this expression of heartfelt gratitude and the assurance that this work is bearing fruit in the lives and service of many who passed through his classes and who received not only new knowledge of God's Word but also a new conception of the dignity and responsibility of the Christian ministry."¹³⁷

The following year, 1947, saw a turning point in native ministers' and evangelists' theological education. This change affected both the Ennals Institute and the Millard Institute. Briefly,¹³⁸ during a conference held at East London, in June 1947 between Dr Ennals and the East London members of the Southern Field Committee, the following recommendation was decided on and forwarded to the SABMS Executive: "That for a trial period, the duration of which shall be decided by the Executive with full right of review by the [BU] Assembly, accepted candidates for the Bantu Baptist ministry be sent to the Union Bible Institute, Sweetwaters, Natal, and that the Ennals Institute at present situated at Berlin and the Millard Institute at Orlando, while retaining their status as training centres, be used primarily for refresher courses for Ministers and Evangelists and special courses for women workers, as far as suitable arrangements can be made and the other duties of Superintendent Missionaries allow time for such work with the voluntary help of such local Ministers as are

¹³⁵ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 21.

¹³⁶ Minutes of 1946 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 59.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ See Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion.

available; subject to the proviso that the whole matter comes up for review every three years until we ourselves are able to undertake the full training of our men.”¹³⁹

It was in this context, that is, the context of the native as the “inferior Other”¹⁴⁰ – that his (native) theological education took place.¹⁴¹ Briefly, it was a context of “experimental native theological education.” The result of this experiment was the closing of the Baptist native theological institutions. Following this, Baptist native ministers’ and evangelists’ theological education was to be again experimented with, and to be reviewed “every three years.” This time, candidates for the Bantu Baptist ministry were to be sent to the Union Bible Institute, in Sweetwaters, Natal, while the Ennals Institute and the Millard Institute were to be used primarily for the refresher courses. It was added that, “the whole matter [was to come up] for review every three years until we ourselves are able to undertake the full training of our [Bantu] men [which at the moment is not a priority].”¹⁴² The reason that the Sweetwaters Institute was chosen over against any other non-Baptist institute could be, among others, that Rev Bernard Johnson, principal of the Sweetwaters Institute, was reportedly, “an ordained Baptist Minister, having been ordained by the Board of Directors of the Swedish Zulu Mission in June, 1923.”¹⁴³ Further, this Rev Johnson was reported to “[have] completed satisfactorily the full ministerial course of studies set by the Ministerial Education Committee of the Baptist Union of South Africa.”¹⁴⁴ In addition, “his name [was] placed on the list of fully accredited Ministers.”¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 56.

¹⁴⁰ See discussion in Chapter 4 on the “Other,” “Otherness,” and the “inferior Other.”

¹⁴¹ As we would later note, Europeans’ theological education, with better resources, was established about the same time.

¹⁴² SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 56. By 1945 already, Rev J. C. E. Payn, Superintendent of the Pondoland and East Griqualand field, reported: “One young man is already in training at the Sweetwaters Bible Institute, Natal, where he is being supported by his father who is himself an active worker in our field” (See SABMS Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 18.). Again in the same year, from the Natal field, there is a report of a certain Mr C. de Waal who “has offered to be responsible for the expense of training a worker at Sweetwaters.” (Ibid., p. 20.).

¹⁴³ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 65.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

It ought to be noted that after 1944 a number of the native ministers took pastorates in the different native churches.¹⁴⁶ This was possibly due to the need raised in the Missionary Survey.¹⁴⁷ For example, in the Pondoland and East Griqualand Field, in 1945, evangelist Davis Jono was appointed in charge of Matatiele District.¹⁴⁸ In the Transvaal, in the same year, Rev Themba Tusini¹⁴⁹ was appointed pastor of the Orlando Church, in Soweto.¹⁵⁰ Again in the same year Rev Lucas Malepe was appointed minister at Pilgrims Rest.¹⁵¹ And in Natal, at a place called Ingogo, Rev Meshack Tsoari and his wife were appointed.¹⁵² Also after 1944, a number of native ministers continued to oversee large districts in the absence of European missionaries and superintendents. For example, in Kaffraria, in 1946, during the absence of Rev Pape, Superintendent of the field, Rev Shadrack Mashologu was appointed to supervise the work.¹⁵³ In Pondoland and East Griqualand, Rev Richard Mdubeki was left in charge of the Mjozi field while Rev and Mrs Payn were moved to Kokstad for a "trial period."¹⁵⁴ Regarding Kokstad, the SABMS Executive had hoped, "With improved roads, etc., it is thought that this may now be the best centre from which to supervise the whole field."¹⁵⁵

During this period, in 1947 specifically, the Bantu Baptist Church (BBC) "had its first post war Assembly."¹⁵⁶ This was held at East London "by invitation of the Kaffrarian Bantu Churches who gave sacrificially in order to entertain their brethren from other centres."¹⁵⁷ At this Assembly, Rev S. Mashologu was appointed "the first Bantu Minister to become the Moderator of the BBC,"¹⁵⁸ and, Rev D. H. Eriksson was appointed the Vice-Moderator. Further, during this Assembly, at the SABMS Executive's suggestion, it was decided to divide the Southern Council into two. Thus: "There are now four Bantu Church Councils

¹⁴⁶ See the complete list of the native ministers, probationer ministers and evangelists who were under the SABMS by 1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, pp. 12-16.

¹⁴⁷ See Chapter 8.

¹⁴⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 27.

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter 7 for more discussion of Rev Themba Tusini.

¹⁵⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 29.

¹⁵¹ SABMS Annual Report for 1947-1948, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 53.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 17.

¹⁵⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 46.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 27.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

(corresponding roughly to European Associations); the Northern, covering the Transvaal, etc.; the Southern, covering Kaffraria, the Transkeian, covering the Transkei; and the Pondoland, covering Pondoland, East Griqualand, etc.”¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, at this BBC Assembly, it was decided to form the South African Bantu Baptist Church Women’s Association (SABBWA). Its draft constitution was submitted to the SABMS Executive, and this was “referred to the SABWA for [European women’s] consideration and any suggestion thought desirable.”¹⁶⁰

It should be noted that the native Baptist women¹⁶¹ had by this year, 1947, been for almost a century carrying out their activities.¹⁶² However, they formally began meeting as groups and having constant meetings after 1892, following the formation of the SABMS. Compared to the other denominations, the English churches in particular, their formation into a separate group only in 1947 came rather late. Earlier - still than the Methodists was a revivalist native women’s movement called Isililo in the American Board Mission. This movement was established in 1912.¹⁶³ Even earlier than Isililo, interestingly so, according to Gaitskell,¹⁶⁴ was the Wesleyan Methodist Prayer Union in the southern Transvaal in 1907, established by “Mrs S. Gqosho wife of an African minister in Potchefstroom.”¹⁶⁵ For example, in the Methodist Church, as early as 1923, the general secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, Rev S. Clark reported that the Manyano¹⁶⁶ or Native Women’s Christian Association had sprung out of the Methodist Church, closely related to the work of the native women.¹⁶⁷ This work included among others, the establishment of training institutions for native girls

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ For discussion on theological education for native women, see Chapter 8.

¹⁶² See Chapters 1, 4 & 8.

¹⁶³ Gaitskell, D. “Praying and Preaching: The Distinctive Spirituality of African Women’s Church Organizations,” in Bredenkamp, H. & Ross, R. (1995). *Missions and Christianity in South African History*. South Africa: Witwatersrand University Press, p. 214.

¹⁶⁴ See Gaitskell, D. “Power in Prayer and Service: Women’s Christian Organizations,” in Elphick, R. & Davenport, R. (1997). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 253-267.

¹⁶⁵ See Gaitskell, D. “Power in Prayer and Service: Women’s Christian Organizations,” in Elphick, R. & Davenport, R. (1997). *Op. Cit.*, p. 256.

¹⁶⁶ Manyano is a Xhosa word for the prayer unions for the African women’s Christian organizations (See Gaitskell, D. “Power in Prayer and Service: Women’s Christian Organizations,” in Elphick, R. & Davenport, R. 1997. *Op. Cit.*, p. 253.).

¹⁶⁷ See Evelcigh, W. 1923. *Op.Cit.*, p. 25.

“to become suitable wives for ministers, evangelists and teachers.”¹⁶⁸ With regard to the Baptist Church, it is intriguing to note that these major changes in 1947, in particular the appointment of Rev Mashologu as the first Bantu moderator and the formation of SABBWA, were all happening a year before the official introduction of apartheid, in 1948. What could have been the factors that propelled these drastic changes within the Baptist Church of South Africa and all at one Assembly? Was the Baptist Church of South Africa making a statement in a country that was becoming more racially hostile?

Financially, even though the natives were not well off compared to the Europeans, nor did their ministers receive any benefits compared to those received by European ministers and SABMS missionaries, they nevertheless kept the Baptist cause alive. In 1945 for example, Rev Eriksson, Superintendent of the field wrote, in capital letters, “THE SPIRIT OF SERVICE AND GIVING IS NOT FAILING AMONG OUR BANTU CHRISTIANS.”¹⁶⁹ This spirit of generosity amidst dire conditions clearly left an indelible mark upon Rev Eriksson – immaterial to him whether as a result of the natives’ self-sacrificial service or servitude under European guidance. In the same *Report*, Rev Eriksson continued: “At Potgietersrust the men made and burnt 40,000 bricks and the building went on, the women of the B.B.W.A. carried all the bricks to the site on their heads.”¹⁷⁰ Following on Rev Eriksson’s report, that there is a “spirit of service and giving” among the Bantu in his field, it is without surprise that one reads that this field, the largest of all SABMS fields, reported a “field income” of £3,102.14s.1d., including funds from self-supporting churches. This was a substantial income compared to that of other fields.¹⁷¹

In the same year, at Lambaland, “Mr. Rendall report[ed] that he has been in the position to help the people by supervising the marketing of the vegetables they grow.”¹⁷² As a result:

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 30.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ The other fields reported the following income: Transkei and Glen Grey £2,322.5s.10d.; Kaffraria £1,110.13s.1d.; Lambaland (Kafulafuta) £1,107.15s.6d.; Lambaland (Dispensary) £20.11s.8d., and Lambaland (Fiwale Hill) £914.5s.4d.; Pondoland £1,073.4s.1d.; Queenstown Location Church £11.19s.8d.; and Umgeni Road Mission £184.3s.2d. (SABMS Income and Expenditure Account for the twelve months ended 30th June 1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 56.).

¹⁷² SABMS Annual Report for 1944-1945, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 31.

“This had not only given him useful contacts but has had its reaction on Church offerings, which have increased from £11 in 1938, to £38 in 1944-5.”¹⁷³ Prefixing Rev Rendall’s report was the SABMS Executive statement that: “The policy of the Mission [SABMS] is to foster self-support.”¹⁷⁴ Concerning Rev Rendall’s intervention in the marketing of the vegetables that the Lamba people grew, this ought not be taken at face value without any critique. Two aspects need to be noted concerning this intervention. Firstly, this intervention was into an economy, the pound economy, which favoured the Europeans. As a result, the role played by a European on behalf of the natives augured well, financially speaking, in terms of the perception other Europeans (buyers) had about native products. Secondly, by this period, after the 1913 Land Act in South Africa and the many other segregationist acts that followed, the Europeans perceived themselves as one community, though not homogeneous, and as needing to cooperate with each other, in the midst of the surrounding and overflowing native reserves. Therefore, as in the 19th century when the German immigrants complained that they found it difficult to sell their products in Grahamstown, which was then an English market,¹⁷⁵ in the 20th century it was the natives who were experiencing this frustration. Thus, lack of finance for the natives meant among other effect, an inability to support their own theological education.

9.2.2. The training of European ministers and the formation of the Ministerial Training Fund (1948)

Regarding European ministers’ theological education, which was, without doubt, a priority for the BU and the SABMS,¹⁷⁶ all the necessary support was given, in particular financial support. After 1944, European ministers education continued as before. Unfortunately, BU minutes do not provide substantial records of events and issues concerning European ministers’ theological education between the period 1944 to 1948. The few issues that could be identified during this period are nonetheless worth discussing. It was only in 1947, during the BU Assembly, the same Assembly during which the Forward Movement Fund of £50,000 was adopted, that the BU addressed the training of European ministers, for the first

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 1 & 2.

¹⁷⁶ See Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion of the European ministers’ theological education prior to 1944.

time since 1936.¹⁷⁷ During this Assembly, Rev J. L. Green “presented a report regarding preliminary investigation made by the Northern Baptist Minister’s Fraternal, and of the discussion that had taken place in the Ministerial session of the present Assembly.”¹⁷⁸ After presenting the report, “[he] then moved the following resolution[s] which [were] seconded by the Rev. J. D. Odendaal.”¹⁷⁹

The first resolution read: “The Assembly accords its thanks to the Northern Baptist Minister’s Fraternal for bringing forward the question of the adequate training of men for our South African ministry, and for the preparatory work the Fraternal has done in exploring the possibilities and suggestions.”¹⁸⁰ What is worth noting about this resolution is the word “our”: meaning the adequate training of European men only, by a Europeans-only BU Assembly. Further, these Europeans did not have to be critically conscious of the use of “our” since after all, the Assembly consisted of Europeans only. Given this expression: “our,”¹⁸¹ it can confidently be inferred that issue of native theological education was “theirs,” that is, the “Others.” The qualification that this ministry is South African denotes that there is no need to mention “our South African European ministry,”¹⁸² in the resolution. This is because “South Africa,” according to the Europeans-only BU Assembly, referred to a European-inhabited (and inherited) land. Consequently the same applies to the Baptist Church of South Africa, which for these Europeans was “our” church, brought from “home,”¹⁸³ England.

The above argument connects us to an earlier one¹⁸⁴ about the Bantu Baptist Church, where the use of Bantu was a necessary prefix to denote a church separate from the Baptist Church of South Africa.¹⁸⁵ (Unfortunately, as the argument could further be carried, a term to denote

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 92.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Mention is hereby noted of Dr Ennals who “once” referred to the native ministers as “our men” as earlier discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 7. However, in mentioning this, he qualified the use of “our” as “our Bantu men.” The phrase “our men” could also be seen as possessive and paternalistic.

¹⁸² Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 92.

¹⁸³ See Chapter 2 on the use of the concept “home” in BU minutes and Baptist literature.

¹⁸⁴ See Chapter 5.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

a South Africa for the blacks had not been coined by the European Baptists, or more appropriately, by the European government in South Africa.). Further to make this distinction between “ours” and “theirs”, “theirs” always specifically referring to the Bantu, and the titling of these resolutions as recorded in the BU Handbook affirms this argument. That is, while the overall title of these resolutions pertaining to European ministerial training was: “Training of Candidates for our Ministry,”¹⁸⁶ in the same Handbook, the *SABMS Report* concerning the Bantu ministry, this resolution read: “Training of Candidates for the Bantu Ministry.”¹⁸⁷

The second resolution passed by the same Assembly read: “The Assembly recognises the importance and urgency of the matter in question [European ministers’ training] and desires that a comprehensive plan shall be formulated with the least possible delay.”¹⁸⁸ From this resolution, it is clear that European Baptists gave priority and urgency to matters that were of direct benefit to them. Following on this, the third resolution read: “To this end the Assembly now refers the matter to a special committee for further consideration and investigation with a view to the presentations of definite proposals to the 1948 Assembly.”¹⁸⁹ That is, within a year, desirable proposals should be in place, in contrast to native training whose “definite proposals” were only realized eighteen years later.¹⁹⁰ To further indicate their total support for, and urgency about, this matter, the Assembly provided a clear mandate to this committee:

The special committee shall consist of the members of the Northern Ministers’ Fraternal with power to add, together, with a corresponding member from each of the larger centres other than the Transvaal and of the Afrikaanse Baptist Kerk. The convenor of the committee shall be the Rev. Clayton Surmon in his capacity as secretary of the Northern Fraternal. The clause ‘with power to add’ means that the committee may, if deemed desirable, co-opt individuals outside the Transvaal area in addition to the regional representatives.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ See Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 92.

¹⁸⁷ See SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, pp. 55-56.

¹⁸⁸ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 92.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter 7. The plans to establish the institute commenced as early as 1912 but it was only in 1930 that a native training institute was opened, the Ennals Institute.

¹⁹¹ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 92.

Lastly, this committee "shall present interim reports to the Executive for information and/or suggestion, in time for their meetings in March and June, 1948."¹⁹² Without doubt, with this kind of support the committee managed to accomplish its work.

By the close of 1948, the BU Executive in its report for the 1949 BU Assembly could state:

In presenting the statements printed elsewhere some explanation may be called for regarding what now appears as the Ministerial Training Fund (incorporating the Batts, Cross and Perks Memorial Funds). [The Report continued,] In recent years the Batts Memorial Fund and the Perks Memorial Fund have appeared in the annual statements without any indication of their purpose, and the name of the late Rev G. W. Cross has not appeared in connection with either.¹⁹³

The facts were, according to the BU Executive, that:

Rev H. J. Batts left a legacy to be used to help men accepted for ministerial training; a sum for the same purpose was raised by friends of the Rev G. W. Cross, and with their generous consent, merged into the Batts Fund. A further sum was left by the late Mr. Perks with the same object in view.¹⁹⁴

Thus, at the June BU Executive meetings, "in order to perpetuate the names of the brethren mentioned, and at the same time secure that the purpose for which all three funds were intended should not be forgotten or overlooked with the efflux of time and the passing of those who had some personal knowledge of the matter, it was resolved that the three Funds be merged under the title now used [Ministerial Training Fund]."¹⁹⁵ Thus, the cause of European ministers' training was vigorously continued.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ BU Executive Reports for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 32.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. By the close of this financial period, 30th June 1949, the fund recorded an expenditure of £1,106.18s.3d. (BU Sustentation and Trust Fund Revenue and Expenditure Account for the year ended 30th June 1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 94.).

9.3. Conclusion: Continued financial differences and racial benefits

After 1944, three aspects characterized the history of the South African Baptists and the associated financial matters. These were: the creation of more funds for European workers, the betterment of European ministers' theological training, and the BU's argument that the living conditions of the South African natives were the government's responsibility. Concerning the first, that is, the creation of more funds for European workers, after 1944, European workers under the SABMS and the BU continued enjoying the financial and material benefits that their work for the South African Baptist Church offered, which were made possible by the different funds the BU introduced. In order to generate more capital for the Baptist Church, the first of these funds that the BU introduced was the Thanksgiving Fund in 1944. Further, its purpose was to raise £15,000 "for the development of Baptist work and the furtherance of the Baptist evangelical witness in Southern Africa."¹⁹⁶ Within a year, that is, by the sitting of the 1945 BU Assembly, the fund had raised £11,000. This was the biggest amount in Baptist history to be raised within a year. Surely, there was sufficient enthusiasm from the European churches to see to it that this fund was a success. And within two years, the fund was reported to have exceeded the intended amount of £15,000.

Even though the money from this fund was to be split between the BU and the SABMS, that is, a third to the SABMS and two-thirds to the BU, almost all of the fund's money was raised from the European churches. This factor should however, be understood against the backdrop of Europeans having greater access to the pound economy. This access made it more possible for them, in comparison to the natives, to offer generously in their respective churches, for the needs of the Baptist Church of South Africa. Further, and a critical point to note, during the same Assembly that the Thanksgiving Fund was adopted, a report on the Missionary Survey¹⁹⁷ conducted in all SABMS native fields, was also presented. Obvious from the *Report*,¹⁹⁸ among other factors, was that native ministers lived in dire poverty, though the *Report* never intended to highlight the poverty of the native ministers compared to the "needs" of the mission fields in which they served. Critical for the European-only deputation

¹⁹⁶ Minutes of 1944 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 71.

¹⁹⁷ See Chapter 8.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

that visited these fields, as reflected in their recommendations, were the dilapidated conditions of the native churches in need of renovations, among other “needs” of the fields. In other words, what mattered for the deputations were the buildings in need of renovation rather than the native ministers’ (and evangelists’) dire poverty.

Thus, when funds came through to the SABMS from the Thanksgiving Fund, these funds were reportedly used for “mission fields” with “a small balance in hand for contingencies.”¹⁹⁹ Unlike in the SABMS’s case, for the BU when these funds became available, besides being used for the purchase of church sites and loans to churches, there is even a record of £100.11s.5d. out of these funds being used for “ministerial removal expenses.”²⁰⁰ In other words, European ministry, particularly aid to the service of its ministers, was understood in terms of its material and related needs while in the case of native ministry, a clear distinction was made between the material properties of the SABMS, that is, the churches, and the material needs (the dire poverty) of the native ministers. And with the continued distribution of funds from the Thanksgiving Fund, this dichotomy continued. Worse, in 1945, only a year after the deputation’s presentation of the Missionary Survey’s report to the Assembly, the SABMS established a Holiday Fund for its European workers, further making the demarcation between European and native workers’ remuneration clearer. In this period, it would be far-fetched for one even to imagine this fund being extended to native workers, for whom for them this holiday allowance represented six months’ living wage.

While the Thanksgiving Fund disbursed some of its funds “to the native churches” through the SABMS, two other funds under the BU, also formed during this period, solely attended to the European churches’ needs. These funds were the Insurance Agency Scheme and the Forward Movement, respectively. The Insurance Agency Scheme was initiated in order to have a single insurance scheme in which all European Baptists could participate. This was because, as early as 1939, the BU reported that many churches had separately insured their buildings under the Insurance Scheme, which was first brought before the Assembly in

¹⁹⁹ See SABMS Executive Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 16.

²⁰⁰ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 86.

1938.²⁰¹ Post-1944, the BU was intent on requesting churches “that have not already done so [participated in the scheme] to consider participation in the denominational insurance scheme by which funds of the [Baptist] Union benefit substantially.”²⁰² The churches not only insured their church buildings and manses, but also their motorcars and any other valuables.

Further, under this new scheme, which the BU took out with the Old Mutual Association, the Assembly pointed out to the churches, “the new scheme offers certain advantages in the matter of insurance and benefits for dependants, [and] it offers a considerably lower annuity payable at the age of 65.”²⁰³ Finally, the BU adopted the “Old Mutual Scheme as the Denominational Pension-Insurance Scheme for the future.”²⁰⁴ Thus, the European churches’ buildings, manses, motors-cars and other valuables were insured with a double benefit. That is, while they were certain that their material goods were insured, the BU’s funds (and in turn the European churches) benefited from the premiums that these churches paid monthly into the scheme. In addition to this double benefit, their European ministers’ pensions were also secured under this scheme. What about the participation of native churches in this scheme? Such a question would again have been a far-fetched notion that the BU simply ignored.

Two years before the denomination adopted the new Pension-Insurance Scheme, the denomination devised the Forward Movement Fund, in 1947, because, when the BU Executive “[was] administering the Thanksgiving Fund, [it] had made two discoveries; first, that the amount raised could only do half what was expected because of increased building costs and, secondly, that many calls had been made which could not be met.”²⁰⁵ The fund envisaged raising a capital of at least £50,000. However, the fund did not gain momentum as fast as the Thanksgiving Fund did. Nevertheless, by the following year’s Assembly, 1948, the fund had received promises of over £1,300. Among some of its goals, the fund aimed to establish a training centre for European ministers and missionaries. This goal in particular became the point of focus for the fund, to the extent that the BU Executive agreed to have the Forward Movement Committee “concentrate upon the raising of the initial £10,000, required

²⁰¹ Minutes of 1938 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1938-1939, p. 64.

²⁰² Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 75.

²⁰³ BU Executive Reports for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 41.

²⁰⁴ Minutes of 1949 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 113.

²⁰⁵ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 91.

for the launching of the project [Training Centre Scheme].”²⁰⁶ This scheme was initiated in the context of the reorganization of Baptist native ministerial training. That is, on the one hand while the BU was considering training its “own” (European) ministers, on the other, it ironically oversaw the SABMS’s cessation of native ministers’ training. Finance was the underlying reason for this situation. The training of its native ministers was a “luxury” that Baptist finance could not afford any longer. This aspect leads us to the next major issue of Baptist history after 1944 period: European training versus native training.

It would be a misnomer, post 1944, for one to speak of Baptist native theological training – compared with European ministers’ theological training. The latter, which was continuing at South African universities – a requirement that the BU stipulated for ordination as early as 1936²⁰⁷ – resulted in a degree qualification for these ministers. On the other hand, Refresher Courses or a one-year training course at the Millard Institute, after which the graduates received “leaving Certificates”, characterized native ministers’ training.²⁰⁸ The Ennals Institute and the Millard Training Institute, which had also been offering refresher courses in addition to their training, in 1947 offered only refresher courses. And “candidates for the Bantu Baptist ministry [were to] be sent to Union Bible Institute, Sweetwaters, Natal.”²⁰⁹ Following this decision, again in 1947, the BU Assembly in adopting the Forward Movement Fund ironically stipulated as first objective, the establishment of a centre for the training of European ministers and missionaries. This decision was followed in 1948 with the formation of the Ministerial Training Fund, to realize this goal for “our” ministers. The BU Assembly in approving resolutions pertaining to the training of the European ministers entitled them as: “Training of Candidates of our Ministry,” over against native training resolutions entitled as: “Training of Candidates for the Bantu Ministry,” both of which appear in the same BU Assembly Handbook.²¹⁰ Thus, the BU further made the line of demarcation clear between “our Ministry” and “Bantu Ministry.”

²⁰⁶ BU Executive Reports for 1948-1949, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, p. 39.

²⁰⁷ See Chapter 7. See also Volume Three (Appendices) the document titled: Regulations regarding the training and recognition of Baptist Ministers and Missionaries (1936).

²⁰⁸ SABMS Annual Report for 1945-1946, in Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 20.

²⁰⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 56.

²¹⁰ See Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 92, and SABMS Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, pp. 55-56.

The above differences in theological training between European and native ministers in the Baptist Church of South Africa lead us to the final aspect that characterized the history of South African Baptists and their finance matters after 1944: the South African Baptists' race resolutions pertaining to the natives. The resolutions studied in this case, and passed by the annual BU Assemblies, were those that responded to the government's oppressive legislation against the natives. Although these resolutions provide us with insight into the successive South African governments' oppressive legislation, still more pertinent about these resolutions is that they provide us with insight into the BU's attitude towards the natives and related race matters. As noted earlier, the BU's resolutions were resolutions of convenience. That is, it was convenient for the BU, a Europeans-only structure, not to be forthrightly critical of the Europeans-only South African government. This was because the BU and similar Europeans-only church structures in other denominations enjoyed the protection and related benefits from the government by virtue of the mere fact that they were Europeans. Further, since the Europeans in the Baptist Church of South Africa never underwent the harsh and humiliating conditions that the natives were subjected to by the South African government, coupled with the fact that these natives were never part and parcel of the BU Assemblies, and that the BU occasionally and purposely "spiritualized" its prophetic role as a church, it is not surprising that at times, the same BU was completely silent about the government's legislation.

One such example, appropriately concluding the period under study, 1820-1948, was in 1948. During this year, when apartheid was formally introduced in South Africa, the BU never criticized this outright declaration of race war on all fronts against the natives, by the government. Instead the BU concerned itself with the implications of the mention of God in the newly adopted apartheid government's constitution. This focus by the BU purposely deviated from the crux of the South African race problem in 1948. Further, the BU which had once argued that South African natives were better-off, even though under an oppressive government, than natives in other parts of the African continent, had started constructing the argument throughout its assemblies that native conditions were the government's responsibility. This was the same BU that advocated improvement of the economic conditions of the poor whites. That is, when dealing with European matters, the BU

advocated a hands-on approach, but when it came to native matters, it advocated a hands-off approach. And this was, and has been – throughout the period under study – the preferred position of the BU, that is, to maintain its convenient position whenever it had to address matters pertaining to the natives. And again, the history of Baptist finance matters communicated this point.

Chapter 10 (Conclusion)

Finance, mission and Christianity

10.1. The value and power of money (Western capital)

Finance, without doubt, was and is necessary to the carrying out of mission. Further, as an important livelihood resource, or in the words of Rev Gutsche, a “necessary means” or a “temporal want,”¹ it is also necessary to keep the Christian faith alive. Money, is a determining element in a monetary economy. But prior to the arrival of Europeans in South Africa, and the subsequent introduction of the pound, Africans had an economy of their own which used, for example, precious beads or cattle to trade. According to the Comaroffs, prior to the missionaries’ arrival in South Africa, “communities were understood as social creations, built up through ceaseless actions and transactions of people eager to enhance their fund of value. Here too, exchange was conducted by means of versatile media that measured and stored wealth, and facilitated its negotiation from afar.”² Further,

The vision of the production of value, based on close human interdependence, was very different from that of the liberal economists, who saw the commonwealth as the fruit of impersonal transactions among autonomous beings. ... the object of social exchange was precisely not to accumulate riches with no strings attached: the traffic in beasts served to knit human beings together in an intricate weave, in which the density of living connections and the magnitude of value were one and the same thing. Because they were means, par excellence, of building social biographies and accumulating capital, cattle were the supreme form of property here [among the Tswana]; they could congeal, store, and increase value, holding it stable in a world of flux.³

But according to the western viewpoint, quoting Adam Smith, the Comaroffs wrote that cattle were “‘rude’ and ‘inconvenient’ instruments of commerce.”⁴ Smith, according to the Comaroffs, “appreciated that they [cattle] embodied many of the elementary features of coin,

¹ See Chapter 3.

² Comaroff, J. L., & Comaroff, J. (1997). *Op. Cit.*, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁴ *Ibid.*

being useful, alienable [and] relatively durable objects.”⁵ The capacity of cattle “to objectify, transfer, and enhance wealth endowed them with strange, almost magical talents – much like money in the West.”⁶ The Europeans on their arrival in South Africa, however, immediately worked on replacing cattle as capital, with European currencies such as the pound.

A number of means were used to swiftly replace the natives’ economy with the Europeans’ economy, though with resistance from the natives.⁷ Three in particular, among others, were highlighted in the foregone chapters. Firstly, owing to the natives’ dispossession from their land, and the subsequent shortage of grazing land for their cattle, whenever their cattle were impounded as a result of trespassing into the “Europeans’ land,” the natives could only release their cattle through paying in European currency. This meant that in other words, they had to trade their goods or supply their labour in order to accumulate monetary capital.

Secondly, with the creation of the European governmental structure following the colonization, dispossession, and resettlement of the natives from their land, a new economy, that was to permeate every aspect of livelihood in the colonial frontier, emerged. That is, capital value, access to resources and the power to purchase commodities were only possible through accumulating the European currency. Therefore, for the natives to participate in this new economy and be able to “live” in the colony, they had to buy into the European economy. This meant, for example, that purchasing goods from European markets, such as were held in Grahamstown, and fashioning themselves in European attire (clothing), required that they should be in possession of the European currency.

Thirdly, another manner in which the Europeans swiftly and forcibly introduced the European currency into the colony, was through the devaluation of natives’ goods.⁸ That is, they purposely undervalued the monetary value of the natives’ goods, including their land. This was purposely done in order to increase Europeans’ accumulation of such goods and to make natives perpetually subservient to the Europeans. Such perpetual subservience was a

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p. 175.

⁷ See discussion in Chapter 9 pertaining to the discourse on land.

⁸ See Chapter 4.

factor, among others, that explained the dire financial state of the native Christian Baptists' churches and the poor living conditions of their ministers.⁹

This became the context into which the Baptist Church of South Africa was introduced, both to Europeans and to natives. It became a context, in the words of Weber in his discussion of the role of money,¹⁰ in which money, in this case the pound, "[made] possible an enormous extension of the range of possible exchange relationships in ... any particular transaction."¹¹ Those who had more access to this form of capital had the greater advantage in these exchange relationships. To better comprehend the nature of the possible (monetary) relationships that actually occurred within the Baptist Church of South Africa, the following four phases will help sum key aspects of the hundred and twenty-eight years (1820-1948) of South African Baptist history covered in this study.

10.2. Four phases of monetary exchange relationships

10.2.1. Phase One (1820-1877): Colonial settlement and the beginning of the monetary exchange relationship

During this phase, the South African Baptist Church was being introduced into the colony. There were two kinds of monetary exchange relationships among the Baptists, during this period. Firstly, between Europeans themselves, that is, between the German Baptists and the English Baptists. It is worth noting that the English Baptists and the German Baptists arrived in South Africa at different periods. Further, they were informed by different theological backgrounds and experiences. Their faith experiences and their "home" experiences certainly informed their manner of mission and ways of theologizing in the colony. These experiences were to inform and explain the character of the Baptist Union, being primarily an English body, and the German Bund being a "Union" of German churches in the colony.

These differences in the church also reflected differences in the secular sphere. Geographically, the Germans and the English lived in different areas in the colony. The land and the climatic conditions of the areas where the Germans settled were unfavourable

⁹ See Chapters 8 for a vivid picture of the poor conditions the native ministers lived and laboured under.

¹⁰ See Chapter 6.

¹¹ Henderson, A. M., & Parsons, T. (1947). *Op. Cit.*, p. 33.

compared to those of the English settlers. Thus, Schwar and Pape commented: "the sites of the settlements were not chosen because they offered good agricultural soil and plenty of water and wood, but because they were of strategic importance to the military authorities."¹² Economically, capital generating activities were centred in the English towns, such as Grahamstown, for example. Further, the successive governments of the colony were predominantly English. These secular and economic conditions without doubt favoured the English. Many of the German immigrants could not find work in the colony, because "[the] people in the Colony preferred to employ unmarried men or even Natives, whose labour was cheaper than that of the immigrants."¹³ Given these economic conditions, Schwar and Pape reported: "Col. Maclean [governor of British Kaffraria] was overwhelmed by requests for rations from all parts of the Province."¹⁴ Clearly, these factors convey the point that the monetary exchange relationship in the colony was one that favoured the English settlers.

With the natives coming into the picture, as early as 1870¹⁵ in the Baptist Church of South Africa, the nature of the monetary exchange relationship between the English Baptists and the German Baptists was to be redefined. These natives came into the picture as a result of being evangelized by the German Baptists. Even though the BU would only be formed seven years later (1877), there was already a "fellowship" of Baptist Churches in the colony.¹⁶ With the natives coming into this "fellowship," the monetary exchange relationship would no longer exist strictly between the Europeans among themselves. Instead, it was to be between the natives on the one hand, and the English and the German Baptists on the other: the second kind of monetary relationship.

In other words, even though on the one hand the Germans in comparison to the English were economically disadvantaged, on the other hand, the same Germans in comparison to the natives were much better off. Therefore, when the natives began coming into the Baptist Church, the advantaged Germans together with the still more advantaged English were to hold the upper hand in this monetary exchange relationship. Monetary, in that money (e.g.,

¹² Schwar, J. F., & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ See Chapter 1, in Volume One.

¹⁶ See Chapter 2, in Volume One.

offerings) and other related monetary (and value laden) aspects, such as church buildings, were involved. The Other (the natives) became a part of this exchange relationship. However, the Others and their Otherness were clearly distinguished from the Europeans (both German and English) and their accompanying cultures. Given the Others and their Otherness in the colony, which was not distinguished according to ethnicity but race, the latter became a binding force between the German Baptists and the English Baptists.

To summarise, the differences that existed between the two groups of Europeans, which were emphasized prior to the natives' participation in this exchange relationship, were abandoned in favour of race being the rallying point. This tie was to be embodied in the formation of the BU, in 1877, which consisted of both the English and the German Baptists. Even though the natives were part of the Baptist Church of South Africa, the constitution of the BU made it clear that the BU was a "Union" of European churches. Therefore, when the BU formed its many funds, they were meant for the benefit of both the English and the German Baptists – the Europeans. Race became the sole criterion that determined the monetary exchange relationship. This monetary relationship as it unfolded took different forms, for decades to come, in the Baptist Church of South Africa.

10.2.2. Phase Two (1878-1892): strengthening financial congregationalism and separate development

During this phase, the newly formed Baptist Union (BU) put in place a number of funds to sustain European ministers and their families in South Africa. The BU raised the needed capital through "financial congregationalism."¹⁷ That is, well conveyed by an unnamed layman,¹⁸ commenting on Mr T. H. Grocott's presidential address of 1886 to the BU Assembly, Mr T. H. Grocott, wrote, "no assistance in the past had been received by any South African Baptist Church from the parent society [in Britain], nor had any Baptist Church in the Colony ever received State aid in any form or shape."¹⁹ He continued, "yet,

¹⁷ Concept borrowed from Prof P. Denis's comments in the feedback he gave to this research project, while it was in progress.

¹⁸ See Layman [A reflection on the 1886 BU Assembly proceedings], in BU Handbook for 1886-1887.

¹⁹ Layman [A reflection on the 1886 BU Assembly proceedings], in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 7. See also Chapter 3, in Volume One.

since the formation of the [Baptist] Union, a sum amounting to £2,500 had been voluntarily subscribed by its members and friends.”²⁰ In other words, the European churches were taking responsibility for the running of their mother body, the Baptist Union. Sole reliance on themselves, and not on the government, nor on overseas body to fund them, was rarely the norm among English speaking Protestant churches in the colony during this period.²¹

South Africa’s European Baptists’ financial self-reliance boded well for them later. They were not afraid to explicitly address finance matters and to engage in monetary exchange relationships amongst themselves, for the sake of the growth of the Baptist cause in South Africa. Rev H. Gutsche, BU president in 1887, even cautioned the BU against reliance on donations and funding from outside. In his words to the Assembly, he stated, “we [should] not reflect so much on upon the cheque-book and the cash-box of our neighbour, but upon our own.”²² This attitude was specific to the Baptist Church, unlike most other missionary churches that relied on overseas funding. Four years after Gutsche’s address (1891), appeared a record which indicated the South African Baptists’ capability to sustain not only European ministers within the country, but also including those it specifically called from overseas for ministry in South Africa. The BU was able, during the Assembly, to guarantee a minimum salary to ministers emigrating from England to South Africa. The resolution read as follows: “to guarantee a salary of £150 per annum to each brother for a period of two years from the date of his arrival.”²³

Even though the above discussion serves to highlight that financial congregationalism was the practice in the Baptist Church of South Africa, this was only the one side of the coin of the SA Baptist discourse. Another side became visible when the natives were incorporated within the structures of the BU, by means of the SABMS, formed specifically to do this. Mission, by the Europeans to the many neighbouring natives, was part of “being Christian.” However, the thought of natives “equally” becoming part of this monetary exchange relationship with the Baptist Church was undesirable. That is, it was a far-fetched idea even

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ See Chapter 3, in Volume One.

²² Gutsche, H. *Our Need*, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 11. See also Chapter 3, in Volume One.

²³ Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 31. See also Chapter 3, in Volume One.

to pay salaries or stipends for native evangelists and ministers already doing mission work amongst the natives, let alone to have these salaries comparable to those of their European counterparts. During this period, there was only one exception to the rule. As recorded in the BU minutes, there was a worker, Mr John Adams, who received a “salary” from the “BU” through the SABMS. However, his salary was extremely meagre in comparison to that of the European ministers.

The monetary exchange relationship was acceptable in the eyes of the Europeans, when the natives participated in such a relationship in the secular sphere, though subordinately. But having the same natives participating in the religious sphere, in this case, that of the Baptist Church of South Africa, was something of a dilemma for European Baptists. That is, should these natives be treated equally with fellow Europeans, or differently? And to justify this, the European Baptists saw it as their divine responsibility to guide the natives through the stages of development. Furthermore, the nature of the monetary exchange relationships, in the colony, was European. With the natives coming into the picture, who were none other than the “Other” in their “Otherness,” the “stable” monetary exchange relationship (between English and German Baptists) in the Baptist Church would be disturbed. Further, the Baptist faith, which the early settlers (“our fathers and forefathers”) had brought along from “home,” might become susceptible to being diluted. Therefore, European Baptists had to maintain control over their church and over these “Others,” whose numbers were beginning to grow. Thus, the formation of the SABMS, in 1892, a “Society for the diffusion of the Gospel of the Grace of Jesus Christ among the aborigines of this country,”²⁴ was intended to cater separately for the natives. This was done under the guidance of European leaders, who solely constituted the SABMS Committee. What was taking place, and remained the case for many years to come, was that a new discourse was unfolding, within the Baptist Church of South Africa: masters (Europeans) over against servants (natives). In other words, it was a discourse of the infantilization of the natives. The natives had been dispossessed of their land, followed by their subsequent enforced participation in the new economy (pound

²⁴ 1892 SABMS Constitution, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 33. See Chapter 4, in Volume One. See also in Volume Three of this thesis the document entitled: 1892 SABMS Constitution.

economy), and now their destitute state in the secular sphere was the same they were to further endure in the Baptist Church of South Africa.

Further emphasizing the BU's favouritism towards the masters (Europeans) over against the servants (natives), simultaneous with the formation of the SABMS and ingrained in the SABMS Constitution, was the explicit mention that all church properties of the native churches legally belonged to the BU through the SABMS. This means that church properties, acquired either on behalf of the native churches or by the native churches themselves, used by the natives who were seen as merely infants, in need of European masters, became the property of Europeans, who certainly perceived themselves as mature. Further, the Europeans understood themselves as being in the Colony for the good of the natives. Hence, the SABMS under the guidance of the BU did not hesitate, in promulgating the constitutions of the other "ethnic" associations about to be formed, such as the NBCC,²⁵ the BBC²⁶ and SABBWA,²⁷ to propagate separate development as a given and a necessary practice.²⁸

10.2.3. Phase Three (1893-1927): The culture of financial accounting

With the natives made subservient and relegated to the periphery of the economy, both religious and secular, obviously their financial contributions to the Baptist Church of South Africa were meagre. This factor, among others, explains why their contributions were never reflected in the annual financial statements of the European-led BU. These financial statements were detailed, and took almost a quarter of each year's handbook. The size of these financial statements suggests that their discussion took nearly a quarter of the Assembly's proceedings. This factor leads us to another point concerning the discourse regarding the SA Baptists' monetary exchange relationship: the culture of financial accounting.

According to Weber, "the use of money has the extremely important consequence of introducing, into the qualitative heterogeneity of concrete, economically significant goods,

²⁵ The Native Baptist Church Councils, formed in 1923. See Chapter 5, in Volume One.

²⁶ The Bantu Baptist Church formed in 1927. See Chapter 5, in Volume One.

²⁷ The South African Bantu Baptist Women's Association, formed in 1946. See Chapter 8 and Chapter 9.

²⁸ See Chapter 4, in Volume One.

services, and other advantages, a common denominator which makes it possible to compare them systematically and measure their economic significance.”²⁹ Elaborating further, Weber argued:

Above all it is a numerically quantitative common denominator, so that economic activity can become in general oriented to arithmetical calculation. ... A ‘budget’ need no longer consist alone in the allocation of concrete resources, but can be based on a single money income. The varied activities and interests of a profit making enterprise can be oriented to the single criterion of successful operation, the money balance of profit and loss during the accounting periods.³⁰

Specifically evident regarding the culture of accounting is that, during this phase of the monetary exchange relationship, especially during the period 1894 to 1927, over fifteen different forms of funds were formed for the benefit of European ministers and their families. More intriguing was the consistent annual precision with which these funds were recorded. Still intriguing was the growth that these funds experienced year after year. Regarding the nature of the benefits these funds accrued to their members (Europeans) over against the natives, a glimpse is useful.

For example, the Annuity and Insurance Fund stated in one of its clauses that a member is considered disabled for active work when “by age, sickness or infirmity he is unable to earn £80 per annum.”³¹ It is interesting to note that a European was considered infirm when he is unable to earn £80 per annum. Given that no native had ever earned £80 per annum, be it since the inception of the SABMS in 1892 or after the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church (BBC) in 1927, this factor clearly highlights the contrast of the two worlds existing within the Baptist Church of South Africa. As to the families of the European ministers serving the BU, these were also catered for by the BU. One such fund was the Ministers’ Widows Pension Fund, formed in 1917. As one of its objectives, the fund stated: “To provide for half the pension continued to the widow of a member dying in receipt of a pension.”³²

²⁹ See Henderson, A. M., & Parsons, T. *Op. Cit.*, p. 34. See also Chapter 6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Minutes of 1896 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1896-1897, p. 19.

³² Minutes of 1918 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1918-1919, p. 24. See also Chapter 6.

Underling the culture of accounting was a clear racial hegemony that ensured that funds within the Baptist Church of South Africa would benefit the Europeans. This racial hegemony was based on the premise, argued by the Europeans, that it was their God-given responsibility to oversee the proper development of the backward native race, as mentioned above. Inasmuch as there were sparse accounts of native funding here and there, these accounts were extremely minimal compared to those of the Europeans. Therefore, and unapologetically so, the SABMS and the BU's funds were primarily intended for the benefit of European staff, in the midst of the dire economic conditions under which their fellow native workers were working, for the same Baptist Church of South Africa.

For a start, apart from Stofile's salary of £60 per annum,³³ which he received up until 1901, being the year he left the Baptist Church, the next report of a salary offer to an individual native was ten years later, in 1911. This was an offer of £50 by Mr Philip Meier "for a Native Evangelist for East Bank Location, East London, under the pastoral supervision of Rev D. H. Hay."³⁴ In the same year appeared for the first time a record of a "[native] evangelist's horse,"³⁵ which cost £10. Next to this entry on the SABMS's financial statement, the word "special" is added, implying a number of things, amongst others that this was for the first time that a horse had been provided for a native evangelist. In addition, it is implied that this provision does not set a precedent for other native evangelists. But in 1914 appeared another record of the purchase of two horses for the Transkei field. That is, "one for Mr Mntwini [sic], and one for the Evangelist Petros Mrwetyana at Toleni."³⁶ This was the last record of horses purchased by the SABMS for mission work to be carried out by the native evangelists. These sparse records and infrequent funding of native workers characterized the history of finances in the Baptist Church of South Africa.

The above examples served as factors, among others, that caused the breakaway of a number of native ministers from the SABMS, to join the African Initiated Churches. Instead of

³³ See Chapter 4 and also Chapter 6.

³⁴ Minutes of the Missionary Session of the 1911 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1911-1912*, p. 30. See also Chapter 6.

³⁵ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st October 1910 to 30th September 1911, in *BU Handbook for 1911-1912*, p. 33. See also Chapter 6.

³⁶ The 21st Annual Report of the SABMS for the 1914 BU Assembly, in *BU Handbook for 1913-1914*, pp. 35-36. See also Chapter 6.

participating in a monetary exchange relationship that was racially underlined, they clearly would rather be in a different situation, which had, however, its own nuances.³⁷ From 1921 onwards until 1927, the SABMS and the BU records provide no other forms of any benefits which the native evangelists enjoyed under the SABMS. The only records provided on a yearly basis were the salaries, jointly reported, that the native evangelists received. These were: £230.7s.6d. (1922),³⁸ £341.10s.7d. (1923),³⁹ £362.2s.6d. (1924),⁴⁰ £358.12s.0d. (1925),⁴¹ £443.10s.0d. (1926),⁴² and £502.5s.6d. (1927).⁴³ These salaries were minimal in comparison to those of the European workers.⁴⁴

The deliberate exclusion of the natives from the decision making structures and the mainstream finances in the BU resulted in the BU creating further bodies for the separate development of the natives in the Baptist Church of South Africa. These bodies were the Native Baptist Church Councils (1923) and the Bantu Baptist Church (1927). This meant, structurally and officially, the separate development of the natives. However, the BU through the SABMS ensured that oversight over these natives was maintained. This is in light of the fact that the natives had initiated their “own assemblies,”⁴⁵ which, however, came to be more and more frequently chaired by European Superintendents. This is because, as early as 1922, the European Superintendents had noticed that these assemblies were “a growing feature of our work ... of either evangelists and leaders, or of all associated with the work.”⁴⁶ They

³⁷ There is no doubt that African Initiated Churches, which were formed, as a result of dissatisfaction with the main line churches, further within their own structures, experienced dissatisfactions. These resulted with further splits. Some of the causes of these splits were however, based on money.

³⁸ SABMS Financial Statement for the year ending 30th June 1922, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 57. See Chapter 6.

³⁹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1922 to 30th June 1923, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 69. See Chapter 6.

⁴⁰ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1923 to 30th June 1924, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 60. See also Chapter 6.

⁴¹ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1924 to 30th June 1925, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 60. See also Chapter 6.

⁴² SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1925 to 30th June 1926, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 42. See also Chapter 6.

⁴³ SABMS Financial Statement from 1st July 1926 to 30th June 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 62. See also Chapter 6.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 6.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 5.

⁴⁶ Minutes of 1922 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 3. See also Chapter 5.

further added that, these assemblies were seen to “provide wholesome opportunities to expression and guiding of Native opinion.”⁴⁷

Although native agency was allowed some “expression,” it was to be homogenously controlled by European guidance. Thus, the SABMS a year later (1923) proposed the formation of the Native Baptist Church Councils. Under this body, it could better “monitor” the native assemblies. Furthermore, in these assemblies, native expression was referred to as mere “opinion,” in contrast to European assemblies, whose discussions and resolutions were never referred to in such terms. This point reinforces the previously discussed issue of the master-servant narrative, now taking the form of an opinion-fact narrative. In other words, the servant (native) is only entitled to an opinion and is in need of a master (European), who will provide the fact. Power and maintaining control over the natives are what characterized the European Baptists’ relations to the native Baptists. Just as they ensured that the native churches’ property belonged to the BU through the SABMS, now the European Baptists ensured that they maintained control over what decisions were reached by the natives, and how.

Since finance played a pivotal role in European-native relations within the Baptist Church of South Africa, it is clear that three options for natives’ reactions to this state of affairs emerged. These were: by reaction and leaving the Baptist Church; by remaining subservient under European leadership; or by subversive participation in this monetary exchange relationship. One prominent⁴⁸ example of the first option was Mr W. W. Stofile. He left the Baptist Church and “joined the secession Presbyterians under Mzimba.”⁴⁹ The second option characterized the majority of the natives who remained in the Baptist Church of South Africa. And the third option characterized those natives, for example, about which the SABMS (and the BU) complained that instead of “becoming Christians,” or rather being “converted,” they merely came to church to enjoy the privileges which Christianity and its

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Prominent in the sense that he was the most highly paid native in the Baptist Church. Further, he was a qualified worker and left the Baptist Church at a time when the African Initiated Churches were beginning to gain momentum. He is also, prominent in the sense that his defection from the Baptist Church to Mzimba’s church was reported in detail, in the BU minutes, unlike any other defections.

⁴⁹ Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 132. See also Chapter 5, in Volume One.

accompanying Western culture brought. For example, in 1914, the lady missionaries stationed at Cacadu, Misses Cockburn and Price, reported that the natives came in numbers to the station “for medicine for their bodies, but none have come to the Healer [God] for the healing of their souls.”⁵⁰

The latter example raises an interesting aspect. That is, it further redefines the nature of the monetary exchange relationship. Since there is no evidence that the natives had to pay for this medical attention, assuming (not reflected in the accounts) that they did not pay, no monetary exchange took place. Rather, the natives enjoyed the privilege they received from the provision of this medical treatment for free. It is worth noting that there is no doubt that some missionaries raised funds for their medical dispensaries in the name of doing mission work among the natives. In other words, the “natives” were an important “card” to constantly exhibit in order to obtain funding. In other words, the natives’ name was an important “currency” for the European missionaries to use in order to obtain funding.

10.2.4. Phase Four (1928-1948): Stricter control and further benefits for Europeans

This last phase of the discussion of the monetary exchange relationship: sees the heightening of the European Baptists’ control over the natives. That is, from property control (phase two) to opinion control (phase three), now the BU through the SABMS was to introduce another control: that of theological education. Money and other forms of financial value, such as property, were still measures indicative of the beneficiaries of this monetary exchange relationship. Briefly, during this phase (1928-1948), the natives were to become totally subservient to the European Baptists’ control.

As early as 1929, the discourse unfolded when the SABMS in its annual *Report*⁵¹ made one of the most explicit positions on pension funds for native ministers. It was reported that the Rev. W. E. Ostrich had suffered severely from illness and had been obliged to relinquish his active work. “In view of his long service to the Baptist cause in the Transvaal a pension has

⁵⁰ Minutes of 1914 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 36.

⁵¹ See SABMS Annual Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 13. See also Chapter 7.

been given him.”⁵² But the Committee quickly cautioned: “our funds will not permit at present of making this a general rule.”⁵³ Rather, “[we the SABMS] welcome more heartily the plans made by the Natives themselves to extend and permanently establish their own pension fund.”⁵⁴ In other words, only when it is convenient and when the SABMS is not “financially liable,” is it interested in “assisting” the natives. But as long as the SABMS (including the BU) has to part with its own funds without any return (“exchange”), the natives must keep to their “own” affairs and territory.

This “assistance” by the Europeans to the natives highlights another aspect of this discourse on the monetary exchange. That is, the Europeans were at times not willing to be dictated to by the reciprocal financial demands of this exchange. A sense of their “Christian calling” now and then crept in, in their encounter with fellow native Baptists. That is, they at times felt it to be Christian to assist fellow native Christians. However, this assistance remained merely at the stage of occasionally creeping in. The European Baptists were more constantly conscious of the monetary benefits of their encounter with the native Baptists. This consciousness was further visible in the discursive language they used in defining their God-given responsibility over the natives’ welfare.

For example, in 1930, at the BU Assembly, during the discussion regarding the “Native Question,” the BU resolved that “this [Baptist] Union makes no pronouncement of its views on specific points at the moment, but desires to affirm its conviction that the only basis upon which an equitable and permanently satisfactory settlement of the Native Question can be reached, is the full recognition of the universal Creatorship of God and the consequent brotherhood of man, involving the moral responsibility of more favoured races for the uplift of those in more backward stages of development.”⁵⁵ In other words, the racial discrimination the natives faced in the country in the BU’s view was not “worthy” of its attention. Rather, the BU was merely concerned with the moral responsibility of the

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ SABMS Report for 1929-1930, in *BU Handbook for 1930-1931*, p. 27. See also Chapter 7.

Europeans (the more favoured race) for the upliftment of those (natives) who were in the backward stages of development.

Such a pronouncement regarding the “Native Question,” was a typical “playing safe” by the BU. That is, it did not want to look guilty of not taking up matters concerning the black people and at the same time did not want to be seen to be doing so. De Gruchy described this “playing safe” response by the English churches as “ambiguous and qualified, indicative of their endeavour to serve the interests of white congregations while at the same time trying to adopt a more liberal stance to the Native Question.”⁵⁶ In elaborating on the economic reasons for this “ambiguous ... stance” by the English speaking churches to the plight of the natives, De Gruchy argued: “White members of the churches, part of the mercantile class, generally identified more with the bourgeois society than with labour [natives]. The funding of church programmes and the erection of church buildings and private church schools were dependent upon their capital.”⁵⁷

The perception, by the whites that the natives were in need of their guidance, since the former were the more “favoured race,” was also ingrained in the language used in their annual reports about “their” mission fields. For example, in 1930, the SABMS Committee wrote regarding all its mission fields: “We close the year with a membership of 4,144 in the Bantu Baptist Church directly under our control.”⁵⁸ The SABMS’s use of the phrase “directly under our control” in speaking about the membership of the Bantu Baptist Church was clearly characteristic of the “master language” in the discourse of dispossession, during this period of missions amongst the natives in South Africa.⁵⁹ The use of “under our control” by the SABMS further strengthens the earlier argument regarding the natives’ reactions to the oppressive monetary exchange relationship to which they were subjected by the Europeans. That is, the latter having awakened to the fact that the natives were continually leaving the Baptist Church as a result of this oppressive exchange relationship, reacted by maintaining

⁵⁶ De Gruchy, J. W. “Grappling with a Colonial Heritage: The English-speaking Churches under Imperialism and Apartheid,” in Elphick, R and Davenport, R. (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 157.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ SABMS Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 10. See also Chapter 7.

⁵⁹ See Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, Volume One.

further control over the remaining natives, and new converts. However, native defections kept continuing.

This control was further strengthened by means of the native ministers' theological education. That is, through founding of the Ennals Institute (1930) and the Millard Training Institute (1940), it was hoped: "In the better education of our Native ministry [lies] the fuller grounding of their people in the fundamentals of the faith, the urgent need which this years' [1930] defections show."⁶⁰ In other words, the founding of the Ennals Institute, among other reasons, was intended to avert further defections. This meant that implicit in native ministers' theological education was a curricular content aimed at maintaining the remaining natives and new converts in the Baptist Church, and since this Church was under European control, native ministers were to become agents in this web of control.

Further, the two training centres: The Ennals Institute and the Millard Training Institute, were to become sites of this agency. There, European Superintendents provided the tuition, with the assistance of European ministers from neighbouring European towns. Black staff at these institutions were domesticated mainly through manual work such as cleaning and cooking. The only time that a black staff member participated in the class was when he⁶¹ was interpreting for the teacher, who was white. Further, regarding these "sites of agency," the commodiousness of these buildings, including those of the day schools, was to mirror the nature of the sites, which reflected Western values and norms. The agents, that is, the native ministers were supposed to emulate this Western lifestyle.

For example, in 1946 when Chief Molepo, in Pietersburg, Transvaal, finally "decided to build a school according to Government requirements and asked for our [SABMS] Missionary to help them ... the building [was finally] completed and paid for by the Chief and his people, ... at £454."⁶² This was after "several years [of trying] to build [it] up."⁶³ One should note that it was eleven years since the intention of the chief and the people to build

⁶⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 12. See also Chapter 7.

⁶¹ There are no records of women serving as interpreters in these institutions. See Chapter 7.

⁶² SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 48. See also Chapter 7.

⁶³ SABMS Annual Report for 1946-1947, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 42. See also Chapter 7.

had been made known; but construction had been delayed, with one of the reasons being that the building did not adhere to government regulations. This clearly resurfaces as a strand of the discourse regarding the monetary exchange relationship. That is, this refusal does also imply that indigenous native buildings would not be suitable to house the European kind of education which these schools (including training centres) were propagating. This further implied that the natives were required to have the building plans approved by the European authorities and then obliged to purchase the required material, which meant they could not avoid participating in the Europeans' pound economy. The Comaroffs, interestingly summing up such an encounter, observed: "The native would be brought into the European world, but as the recipient of a gift he could never return – except by acknowledging, gratefully, his own subordination."⁶⁴

Also ingrained in the implications of the monetary exchange relationship that was taking place was the sense of the exotic involved in Europeans' visiting the mission fields, where the natives settled. A good example in the case of the Baptist Church of South Africa was the 1944 tour by the SABMS delegation, of "its mission fields," during which they could witness and experience the effect of the (European) pound and European guidance in "having improved" natives' lives. Further, they could also assess and decide on the aspects of native mission and natives' lives "needing improvement." They surely felt they were "saviours" in the barren land where natives resided. The situation was exotic in the sense that Europeans entered the interior of the hinterland, or rather, "never before visited" of the country. Therefore, this tour, "provided a rhetorical ground on which a new sense of history could be acted out [by the Europeans]."⁶⁵ One should add that there is no doubt, that these Europeans, who solely constituted the members of this tour, were according to the Comaroffs, driven by a "liberal spirit of curiosity,"⁶⁶ because they were "not driven in the first instance by any direct material or political interests in the region."⁶⁷ The deputation reported their experiences and findings in a 49-page single-spaced document entitled: *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*.

⁶⁴ Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 88.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

The same *Report* also mentions the properties and the lands belonging to the SABMS. Again, the SABMS did not miss the opportunity to highlight the “privileges” the natives enjoyed as a result of being brought into the European world. For example, on visiting the Kaffraria field, in particular Kingwilliamstown, the deputation reported about the church the natives were fellowshipping in. They wrote: “The Berkeley Street church was once a handsome building erected as a garrison church by the Methodists when the town was the key point for the defence of the Border territories.”⁶⁸ The *Report* continued: “The solid built stonewalls; the lofty windows and spacious gallery, together with an imposing front of undressed stone, give the church an air of dignity, which many of our European churches do not possess.”⁶⁹ This “glowing account,” among others, should not give a false impression of the nature of the monetary exchange relationship that was taking place during this period. That is, even though the Berkeley Street Church was reported to possess qualities “many of our European churches do not possess,” it was after all, a property of the European-led BU, through the SABMS. Further, the remark that this church possesses qualities many of the European churches did not possess has in it a sense of envy that such an upmarket property was purchased for the natives.

Another possible deception one needs to guard against in reading this *Report* is the occasional sympathetic language surfacing now and then in the *Report*. This occurs particularly when the deputation writes about the dire living and working conditions of the native ministers. Although this “sympathetic language” conveys the humane side of the deputation, the underlying factor is that these conditions resulted from the well-orchestrated dispossession of the natives from the key means of livelihood, such as land, for example. Missionaries too, were very active in amassing as much of the natives’ land as possible. For example, as early as 1904, according to Lagden in his *Report*, “the Missionaries claim[ed] that the assistance rendered by them to the Natives has given them rights either to a portion of land in freehold or to a usufructuary interest over portions in the farms.”⁷⁰ In the Baptist Church specifically, the year (1912) just before the introduction of the Natives Land Act in 1913, witnessed the SABMS’s aggressive approach to land acquisition, as did later years.

⁶⁸ *Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendations*, p. 25.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Lagden, G. Y. *Op. Cit.*, p. 69. See also Chapter 8.

Agents such as native women, like native ministers, were also subservient to this monetary exchange relationship. Through their body, SABBWA,⁷¹ formed in 1946, together with their European counterparts, under SABWA,⁷² which was formed as early as 1912, their roles in the Baptist Church of South Africa were limited to raising money for the BU and the SABMS, respectively. Further, they were expected to do the catering at the BU assemblies and to hold their "own [women's] conferences." Even though both native and European women's roles were thus limited, their economic conditions and state of subservience were different. European women, after doing the "catering" at the assembly, could return to the affluent parts of the country and secure their economic future while their native counterparts went the opposite way.

Further, even though both native and European women were subservient, under male dominance, native women were still further subservient to European women, economically and socially.⁷³ Thus, given that race was the underlying discriminatory factor between European and native women, was also the underlying discriminatory factor between European and native male workers in the SABMS. Furthermore, in terms of the monetary exchange relationship, European men and women were on the winning (and controlling) side of this relationship, while native men and women were on the subordinate (and losing) side.

The period (1820-1948) undertaken in this research ended from 1944 onwards particularly, with more funds being formed for the benefit of European workers in the Baptist Church of South Africa. Also, through these funds, the European churches likewise benefited. These funds were formed against the background of a context which favoured Europeans over the natives. This was a context which safeguarded Europeans' interests through successive legislation against the natives.

The Forward Movement Fund, formed in 1947, was one such example. This Fund, intended for the "all round development of our work,"⁷⁴ proposed to raise capital of £50.000, to be

⁷¹ South African Bantu Baptist Women's Association.

⁷² South African Baptist Women's Association.

⁷³ See Chapter 8.

⁷⁴ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 91. See also Chapter 9.

used among other aims: "To establish a training centre for [European] ministers and missionaries."⁷⁵ Prior to the Forward Movement Fund was the Thanksgiving Fund, formed in 1944, "for the development of Baptist work and furtherance of the Baptist evangelical witness in Southern Africa."⁷⁶ Within a year's formation of the fund, it "reported cash and promises amounting to £12,908."⁷⁷ Given the amount raised and promises made for this fund, all within a year, there is no doubt that the fund had raised more money within a short period of time, than any other fund in the history of the Baptist Church of South Africa.⁷⁸

Over and above these funds, the SABMS also allocated a holiday allowance for its European workers. In 1946 when the SABMS Executive reported that the bequest of Mr W. R. Perks had made it possible for it to provide a holiday fund for European missionaries, it further added that, "an annual allowance of £20 for each married Missionary, and £10 for each unmarried Missionary on the present staff has been arranged."⁷⁹ It is worth noting about this amount that while the SABMS could afford to spend such an amount on its European workers as a holiday allowance, this amount was equivalent to an entire year's wage for some native ministers.⁸⁰

10.3. The state of the native Christian in the South African Baptist discourse

Dispossessed of their land, with no property of their own, assimilated into Western culture, their monetary capital replaced with the pound capital, made subordinate to European masters: this is how the natives within the Baptist Church of South Africa can be characterized. These factors characterized the encounter between the Europeans and the natives. There is no doubt that there were many European missionaries who were not primarily preoccupied with the economic benefits of their encounter with the natives. However, the nature of the dialectics in the colonial frontier was such that the missionaries could not escape the danger of this encounter not remaining a mere encounter, but being

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Minutes of the 1944 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 71.

⁷⁷ Minutes of 1945 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1945-1946, p. 73.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 9.

⁷⁹ SABMS Report for 1945-1946, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 29. See also Chapter 9.

⁸⁰ See Chapter 6 and Chapter 8.

dominated by monetary issues. Like all other Europeans in the colony, the missionaries enjoyed the benefits of what it meant to be a European, in the colony.

As the benefits of this monetary exchange relationship tended to weigh more than their purpose of "being (Christian) missionaries," they became far more conscious regarding finance and related aspects in this exchange. In the Baptist Church specifically, a financial culture became part and parcel of the annual assemblies' proceedings. The constant revision and creation of new funds was something not unusual in the Baptist Church of South Africa. The fact that funds were strictly for the Europeans was an issue the BU was unapologetic about. The creation of these funds and better financial rewards for European ministers, among other factors, and the culture (such as constant reference to "ours" and "home") that nurtured them in the Baptist Church of South Africa were about more than just finance. They concerned the material life of the Europeans in a country from which they had dispossessed the native.

For the missionaries to continue to benefit, the natives were kept purposefully on the dependent side of the relationship. That is, they were purposefully, and in every sense of the word, made dependent on European guidance and provision. This included their theological education and their children's day school education. Thus, Mrs Brailsford, wife of Mr Brailsford, Superintendent of Pondoland, while speaking of the native women, unapologetically uttered the following statement: "continual energetic European leadership will be essential for a long time to come."⁸¹ There is no doubt that Europeans, serving as missionaries among the natives, had undoubtedly made sacrifices and were continuing to do so. However, the benefits they enjoyed in the colonial frontier, as in the case of the Baptist Church of South Africa, were far greater than the "sacrifices" they made. This thesis has attempted to demonstrate that the natives in the Baptist Church were marginalized in every way, but especially financially, throughout the 128 years which it has studied.

⁸¹ Missionary Survey of 1944: Report and Recommendation, p. 8. See also Chapter 8 and Chapter 9.

Epilogue

The BU and race resolutions

1. Background on the BU and the natives' race issues

Even though the earliest Baptists had arrived in the Cape Colony in 1820 and the BU was only formed half a century later, in 1877, the first record by the South African Baptists, in particular the BU, of a statement regarding their attitude to race issues affecting the natives was in 1892. This was when the BU Assembly had invited John Adams, a native evangelist, to address the Assembly on the "problem" of the natives being "ruined by [the] drink,"¹ that is, beer drinking. His presence, which caused the Assembly to give him a "veritable ovation"² when he stepped forward to address it, was to remain one of the rare occasions during which a native was allowed to address the BU Assembly.³ (In actual fact, he was the only native ever to address the BU Assembly between 1877 and 1948.) This Assembly is the same one that agreed to the formation of the SABMS, its object being "the diffusion of the Gospel ... among the aborigines of the country."⁴ Even though he addressed the Assembly on native drinking, which according to the BU was a moral and social matter, and not a political matter,⁵ his presence at the Assembly gives a glimpse into the BU's earliest racial attitude towards the natives. This attitude was without doubt politically underlined.

John Adams, whose real name was John Gilana,⁶ when addressing the Assembly in 1892 was reported to be "look[ing] very ill, and spoke hoarsely."⁷ This, according to the minutes, was as a result of "slowly recovering from a severe attack of influenza."⁸ However, the following year, when he died on August 23rd 1893, as a result of this chest related sickness, no funds⁹

¹ Notes of the 1892 BU Assembly Session, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Chapter 4.

⁴ Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 33.

⁵ See Chapter 4 and Chapter 8 wherein I discuss the social effects of dispossession and the dehumanization of the natives: (European) alcoholic drinking became one of the coping mechanisms that most natives resorted to.

⁶ See Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, in Volume One. In Chapter 1 in particular are also discussed the names of the other native converts that were given European, Christian names.

⁷ Notes of the 1892 BU Assembly Session, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ During Adam's sickness, "the English Church at East London raised a special fund of £6.10s. by entertainment, for Missionary John Adams, then sick." Further, "the Society expended £18.14s.10d., in addition

were contributed by the SABMS to assist his wife. Instead, at Tshabo Mission where he had devotedly laboured for the Baptist cause, it was reported in 1894 that the work was being carried on “partly by Mr. Pittman and the Deacons of the Native Church.”¹⁰ Mrs John Adams,¹¹ as she was referred to, was reported to be “conduct[ing] the Sunday and Day School.”¹² Moreover, “steps [were] being taken to secure a Native Evangelist as successor to the late John Adams.”¹³ And this was the last report on Mrs Adams. Like the wives of the Baptist native ministers and evangelists who were never heard of again, when their husbands died, she too was never mentioned again: the first, among many to follow.¹⁴ Her story and her husband’s were the first record about the native ministers, evangelists and their wives, who laboured for the Baptist Church of South Africa for the most part of their lives. But when they were “no more useful,” they were to be dispensed with. This attitude, among others, was to characterize the nature of Europeans and natives’ relations within the Baptist Church of South Africa. Even though the native workers were useful as mission agents to their “own people,” their identity which constituted of native culture and related factors, was abhorrent (and seen as heathenish) to the Europeans, as discussed below.

The first BU race resolution concerning the natives, and the only BU resolution before 1900 that the Assembly passed, in response to the political authorities’ oppressive legislation against the natives, was voted in 1894. At this Assembly, the “[Baptist] Union strongly condemn[ed] the recent flogging of natives at Johannesburg, for walking upon the pavements of the streets, as an unjust, inhuman, unchristian, and cruel procedure.”¹⁵ And resolved that “a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the Transvaal Republic.”¹⁶ This period constituted, according to Davenport, “The scramble for Southern Africa: Gold, railways and rival imperialism.”¹⁷ The BU resolution was the beginning of the BU’s mere pronouncements

to salary and allowances for the same purpose.” These collections “[were] handed to Mrs. Adams.” (Condensed From Treasurer’s Report, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 55.).

¹⁰ Second Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 54.

¹¹ See Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 (in Volume One) on the use of the husband’s names to describe the wives of the ministers, missionaries or evangelists, regardless of whether they were black or white.

¹² Second Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 54.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ See Chapter 8 for a discussion of native Baptist women workers.

¹⁵ Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 34.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ See Davenport, T. R. H. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 202-205.

against the political authorities of the day, while within its domains the natives' experiences were no different from those they experienced under the political authorities of the day.

The BU's attitude (including the SABMS's) to the native race was one that saw this race as deeply steeped in superstition, darkness and moral degeneracy.¹⁸ Thus, as early as 1896, the SABMS in describing native life in Kimberley, a city established as a result of the scramble for diamonds, wrote that their music "is very monotonous and all sad."¹⁹ This music was contrasted to that of a European Church also in the same town, which was led by a German minister. European music was, according to the SABMS, "the strains that once did sweet in Zion glide."²⁰ After the Anglo-Boer War in 1899-1902, a war which, according to Grundlingh,²¹ raised the native soldiers' hopes for racial equality,²² the BU still perceived the native as the "degenerate Other."²³ For example, in its 1903 annual report, the SABMS reporting on the native churches – agencies for mission and cultural transformation – wrote, "[their] plant[ing] here and there, releas[ed] the forces of light and uplifting, because of contact with the 'living Christ' amid associations of the darkness of superstition and moral degeneracy."²⁴

From 1905 onwards, the BU was to respond annually to the government's oppressive legislation against the natives. However, as will be noted, some of the legislation prior to 1912²⁵ concerned the conditions the government had set for European churches to carry out mission work amongst the natives. In 1905, the BU Assembly²⁶ in response to the "attitude

¹⁸ See Chapter 4 (in Volume One) on the same discussion, but in-depth.

¹⁹ Notes on the BU Session of 1896, in BU Handbook for 1896-1897, p. 7.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ See Grundlingh, L. "Soldiers and Politics: A Study of the political consciousness of Black South African soldiers during and after the Second World War," in *Historia*, Volume 36, No. 2, 1991, pp. 55-66.

²² See Chapter 8 wherein I discuss that war even raised the natives' hopes.

²³ See Chapter 4 (in Volume One) on the discussion of the native as the "inferior Other."

²⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1903-1904, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 19.

²⁵ This was the year the Native Land Bill, which in 1913 became an Act of Parliament, was formulated and adopted by parliament.

²⁶ This is the same Assembly that finally responded to the various requests by the "colonial governments of South Africa" for the BU to give its recognition "to certain Conventions, Associations, and Individuals engaged in Baptist work among the native peoples of South Africa, and especially by the National Baptist Convention and the Lott-Carey Convention of U.S. America, and by the South African Native Baptist Association." (Minutes of 1905 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 71.). Among the list of conditions under which each candidate could be accepted into the Baptist ministry, the candidate was required to declare his

of the Natal Government with regard to mission work on native locations,”²⁷ reported that it “viewed with considerable apprehension”²⁸ this attitude by the Natal government. Further, in its response to the government’s attitude, the Assembly under the public question entitled “Natal Native Location” wrote: “We fully recognize the absolute necessity of missionary work amongst the natives being carried on under European supervision; but this, in our opinion, does not necessitate the placing of a European Missionary on every station.”²⁹ The resolution further read: “Any law which prevents one making use of trained native evangelists who are placed under the control of an accredited Missionary Society must permanently hinder the extension of missionary work among the natives of this Colony.”³⁰ The resolution concluded, “[the BU Assembly] desire to join with the various Missionary Societies of Natal, the Congregational Union of South Africa, the Wesleyan Conference, and the Church Councils of Durban and Maritzburg, in respectfully urging upon the Government the necessity for a speedy alteration of their policy.”³¹

The following year, 1906, the Assembly once again recorded its reservations concerning the government’s attitude to European churches’ missions in the “Natal Native Locations.” It recorded, firstly, that “Any law which prevents one making use of trained native evangelists who are placed under the control of an accredited Missionary Society must permanently hinder the extension of missionary work among the natives of this Colony.”³² And secondly, recorded that it “protests against the recently issued rule by the Natal Education Department forbidding the holding of Divine Service in Government-aided school-buildings.”³³ This Assembly’s resolution, like the previous one, was merely concerned with the government’s laws that obstructed the European churches’ mission work in native locations. Thus far, what mattered for the BU was the carrying out of mission work in native locations, and it was less concerned with the living conditions that the natives in these locations were subjected to. But

personal and public influence to be free from sympathy with a movement known as “Ethiopianism.” (Ibid., p. 72. See also Chapter 5, in Volume One.).

²⁷ Minutes of 1905 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 68.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 68-69.

³² Minutes of 1906 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1906-1907, p. 29.

³³ Ibid.

during the same Assembly, the BU, for the first time since 1894, not only responded to the government's laws that prohibited its mission work in native locations, but also responded to the government's oppressive legislation against the natives. Even though the BU's response to legislation was not as detailed as the resolutions it passed concerning the government's attitude to Europeans churches' mission in native locations, the two resolutions that the Assembly passed are worth noting.

Firstly, the Assembly passed the resolution that "[it] protests against proposed legislation to deprive the natives of the right to own landed property."³⁴ This proposal was a result of the recommendations by the Lagden Commission.³⁵ Further, noting that the same Commission even recommended the dispossession of the natives from their land,³⁶ it is not surprising that the BU said nothing about this. One such reason for the silence of the BU on this matter was that because Europeans, including those within the BU benefited from the land that the government forcibly took from the natives. The second resolution, during the same Assembly read: "That the [BU] Executive be authorized to act as a Committee for safe-guarding Native interests."³⁷ This single sentence surely raises many questions and leaves a lot to be desired. For a start, what did the BU mean by "safeguarding Native interests"? Further, how could the very people who benefited from the land want to safeguard the interests of the same people they dispossessed? The best sense that can be made of this resolution is that Europeans, in this case the BU, perceived themselves to know what was best for the natives. Again, the BU played a paternal role over and against the infantilized natives.³⁸

The following year, 1907, the BU Assembly did not pass any specific resolution in response to the continued government oppression of the natives. The only resolution under "Public Questions" relating to the natives that the BU passed had to do with the "Native Drink Traffic." Insofar as the resolution, according to the BU, had to do with the social and moral welfare of the natives, it further communicated the paternalistic BU's perception of the "responsibility" of the Europeans for the natives. That is, while the BU Assembly

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ See Chapter 8.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Minutes of 1906 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1906-1907, p. 29.

³⁸ See Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, in Volume One.

regrets ... the recent attempts of the Cape Parliament to introduce legislation in regard to the drink business among the natives, it also wished to remind the Government of its duty, which before God it dare not neglect, to guard the interests of the millions of natives committed to its care, whose physical and moral existence are threatened.³⁹

This Calvinistic ideology⁴⁰ of the responsibility of the government, to guard the interests of its citizens, even though it may be cruel, falls short of assessing the legitimacy of such a government. This was also Calvin's shortcoming, during the 16th century, when he advocated that God ordained any government, no matter how tyrannical it was. Therefore, for the BU, the South African Europeans-only government, voted into power by Europeans – settlers in South Africa⁴¹ - though in a native-dominated country was a legitimate government.

Contrary to Calvin's argument, Reid,⁴² critiquing South African scholarship that further advanced this argument, particularly in the South African context, contended that the practices of the successive oppressive white-led governments, even though some of their leaders were from the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), could not be linked to Calvin's theology. "Of all the 'public failures' of the Reformed faith, the association of South African Calvinists with the racial policies of their country seems to be the most heinous of all. ... Now both friend and foe have accepted the assumption that Calvinism was indeed the cause of racial discrimination in South Africa, while direct historical evidence for this assumption is not easy to find."⁴³ Reid continued with the argument, "I am not suggesting that the influence of Calvinism can be isolated so as to 'prove' that all the bad things were caused by other factors and all the good things by Calvinism. Life is too complex for such a laboratory test."⁴⁴ Concluding his chapter, Reid wrote: "Not everyone born or baptized in a Reformed

³⁹ Minutes of 1907 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁰ Calvin develops this argument in depth in Book Four entitled: "The External Means or Aims by which God invites us into the Society of Christ and Holds us Therein" of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. For an overall summary of all the books of the *Institutes*, in particular Book Four, see the "One Hundred Aphorisms" in Beveridge, H. 1949. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume 2. London: James Clarke, pp. 677-689.

⁴¹ See Chapter 8 for Brookes' counter-argument that natives (the Bantu) are also settlers in South Africa.

⁴² See Reid, W. S. (ed.). (1982). *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World*. Michigan: Zondervan. See in particular Chapter 16, entitled: "Calvinism in South Africa."

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 345-346.

church can be described as Calvinist. Personal knowledge and commitment have been always treated with utmost seriousness by the Reformed churches.”⁴⁵

Returning to Baptist history, one should note that the BU at its Assembly the following year, 1908, held from October 12th-15th, at Alice, interestingly passed another resolution regarding the “Native Drink Traffic.” This time it resolved that while “[it] reiterates its emphatic conviction that the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors to natives in Cape Colony would be not only of the greatest benefit both to the native and European population, but by bringing the Cape Colony into line with the other Colonies would materially assist the movement for Closer Union.”⁴⁶ In other words, while the prohibition of the sale of liquor was apparently for the BU a moral and social welfare issue, for the first time, the BU also articulated its political purposes. That is, the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor to natives would bring the Cape Colony into line with the other colonies which would speed the unification of the colonies of South Africa into “one Union.” The founding of this “Union” was to be realized in 1910, though attempts to establish it had commenced as early as January 1907 through the Selborne Memorandum that began the initiative that led to the Union of South Africa.⁴⁷

In 1910, with the Union of South Africa already in existence, a situation that the 1908 BU Assembly had supported, the BU Assembly concerned itself less with native political affairs. Its only resolution concerning the natives read, again merely concerning the sale of liquor to the natives, “[the Assembly] urges upon the Government the maintenance of restrictions on the sale of liquor to the Natives throughout the Union.”⁴⁸ This was less wordy than the 1908 resolution. Concerning the founding of the Union of South Africa, the BU Assembly never recorded the reactions of the natives to this political move. It should be remembered that this Union of South Africa excluded “legitimate” representation of the natives in government. This “unacknowledged protest of the blacks” is, according to Davenport, also prevalent in

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

⁴⁶ Minutes of 1908 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1908-1909, p. 24.

⁴⁷ See Davenport, T. R. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 245.

⁴⁸ Minutes of 1910 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 28.

historical literature.⁴⁹ Politically, what took place was that the South African Native Congress, based in the Cape, and the leading political bodies in the Transvaal and Natal all wanted a gathering of representatives to meet in Bloemfontein. Meetings were accordingly called in all the colonies to elect delegates. At Emgwali, near Stutterheim, on 17 March 1909, Dr Rabusana, A. K. Soga, and T. Mqanda were chosen to represent the Cape; but Tengo Jabavu, "the patriarch of Cape black politics, insisted on King William's Town as the venue for a Convention, and ignored the Emgwali meeting."⁵⁰

Thirty-eight delegates attended the Native Convention in the schoolroom of the Waaihoek Location, Bloemfontein, on 24 to 26 March. Despite the exhortation of a guest speaker, Dewdney Drew, to accept the draft constitution in the hope of improving it at a later stage, the Convention reacted angrily to the exclusion of blacks under the draft Bill, and adopted resolutions criticizing all the clauses which contained colour bars. Other resolutions urged tight safeguards for the incorporation of the Protectorates in the Union. The Convention decided, finally, to establish itself as a permanent body, and elected Rabusana as its president. It did in fact continue to meet, and its members later transformed the Native Convention by a deliberate act into the South African National Congress (the original form of the A.N.C.) in January 1912.⁵¹

As a further reflection of Jabavu's adoption of the Europeans' liberalism,⁵² Davenport pointed out:

Jabavu's meeting in King William's Town on 7 and 8 April was attended by a rather larger number of delegates, but they came from a compact region of the eastern Cape only, and there were none present from any of the larger Cape towns. This was a meeting, not of men who had been denied a place under the new constitution, but of men who had been allowed to remain on the voters' roll and were anxious to safeguard the rights they still had. They therefore expressed approval of Union in principle, but they found time to thank Hofmeyr and the Schreiners for their support, and they decided to send copies of their resolutions to the

⁴⁹ Davenport, T. R. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 250.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* This is the same Rev D. D. T. Jabavu quoted above.

⁵¹ Davenport, T. R. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 250.

⁵² See Chapter 8 for a discussion of Soga's criticism of Jabavu's views concerning the land issue.

executive of the S. A. Native Convention 'for concerted action in the prosecution of the cause.' In other words, they were not promoting themselves simply as a rival show.⁵³

To celebrate the founding of the Union of South Africa, the Baptist Union of the South Africa passed two resolutions, in 1910, during the BU Assembly. The first one was addressed to King George V, of Britain. According to this resolution, as an interlude, "[the BU] desire[d] to assure Your Majesty of our devoted loyalty to Your Majesty,"⁵⁴ on his ascension to the throne. Concerning the formation of the Union of South Africa, in particular, the resolution read:

We desire also to express our profound gratitude to Almighty God that the reign of Your Majesty has been ushered in with the inauguration of the Union of South Africa, and with the promise of the enjoyment of peace and prosperity not only in this land, but also in all Your Majesty's dominions beyond the seas.⁵⁵

In other words, the formation of the Union of South Africa, with the exclusion of the natives, meant for the BU the promise of peace and prosperity. And to the first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, the BU Assembly "desire[d] to offer Your Excellency its heartiest congratulations on being appointed the first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, and to extend to Your Excellency a sincere welcome."⁵⁶ Still more explicit about the BU's support of him was the second part of this resolution:

This Assembly also desires to assure Your Excellency of the continued loyalty and devotion of the Baptist Churches of South Africa to the throne and person of His Most Gracious Majesty King George V, and of their prayer that under the blessing of Almighty God Your Excellency's administration may secure to the various peoples comprising the Union of South Africa the blessings of peace, prosperity and true progress.⁵⁷

⁵³ Davenport, T. R. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 250.

⁵⁴ Minutes of 1910 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 20.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Thus, the BU gave its full support to the Union of South Africa even though it occasionally presented itself as critical of the oppressive legislation this same government issued regarding the natives.

2. Race control benefits the native church (1911-1931)

By 1911, a year before the Native Land Bill was to be presented to Parliament in 1912, the BU had still not condemned the government's orchestrated dehumanization of the natives in the reserves. Their dispossession from the land, a key source of livelihood, was without doubt, one of the critical aspects of the racism and oppression that the South African government used to maintain its power. During this period, in 1911 in particular, the only race-related resolution that the BU Assembly passed had to do with judicial trials where one party was white and the other was coloured. It read: "That in regard to the recent miscarriages of justice the Assembly is of opinion that where serious charges of offence against the person are being tried, and one party concerned is white and the other coloured, such cases should not be tried by jury, but by a Court of Judges."⁵⁸ This in my opinion is immaterial since the jury and the court of judges were after all Europeans only. This resolution was entitled: "Trial by Jury," and copies were "to be sent to His Excellency the Governor-General, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice."⁵⁹

It is interesting to note, when one pays close attention as to how the minutes of the Assembly were arranged, which to a great degree reflects the nature of the discussion, that this "Trial by Jury" resolution was recorded under an agenda item called: "Public Questions."⁶⁰ This title purposefully distinguishes such resolutions from the "actual agenda" of the BU. This distinction would also reflect in similar future BU resolutions, which would also be specifically categorized as "Public Questions," further conveying the message that such a question did not have direct bearing on the "normal agenda" of the BU. On the contrary, in my opinion, they had everything to do with the BU, as will later be observed.

⁵⁸ Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 22.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Other resolutions passed by the BU under "Public Questions" were: "Indecent Publications, Pictures, Bioscopes etc"; "Government Betting Bill"; and "Direct Veto Bill."

Following this resolution, six years elapsed before another resolution on race matters was to be passed by the BU, in 1917 during the BU Assembly at Bloemfontein. In particular, in 1913 when the natives were up in arms against the government Natives Land Act,⁶¹ the BU never responded to this Act. At this Assembly, the BU "enter[ed] its protest against the passing of the Native Administration Bill in its present form."⁶² The resolution continued: "We believe that if passed it will have a grave effect on the relations of European and Coloured peoples; that it would expose the latter to unfair disabilities; that it would introduce principles foreign to our traditions; also with special reference to the Transvaal we would protest against (1) the extreme insufficiency of the areas reserved, (2) [and] their unsuitability in many instances."⁶³

Although this is a resolution sympathetic to the natives, its liberal tendencies cannot be ignored. This is because, firstly, the Assembly had no problem with the Native Administration Bill, but only with its "present form." In other words, the Assembly was in favour of the separate administration of native affairs, though it would prefer some changes in this Bill, possibly to "better" administer the natives. This argument was no different from those proposed by Rheinallt-Jones and Brookes concerning the Natives Land Act of 1913.⁶⁴ They too had problems with the "present form" of the Natives Land Act of 1913,⁶⁵ but preferred this Act to remain in place. Further, in the same 1917 BU resolution, even though the Assembly minutes record that the Assembly protested against "the extreme insufficiency of the areas reserved [in the Transvaal]"⁶⁶ and "their unsuitability in many areas,"⁶⁷ such utterances by the Assembly should not cause one to think that the Assembly condemned the government's racist practices. This is because, as will further be mentioned, the Assembly had never in its history, passed a resolution condemning the government's racial practices. In other words, the BU's resolutions were passed with extreme caution, since it too, enjoyed the benefits accrued to all Europeans by the same government the BU gave the impression of criticizing. For example, one such factor is the BU's silence concerning the Natives Land Act

⁶¹ See Chapter 8.

⁶² Minutes of 1917 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1916-1917, p. 27.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 8.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Minutes of 1917 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1916-1917, p. 27.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

of 1913. This silence leaves a lot to be desired: this Act even received severe criticism from the native church leaders.⁶⁸ In other words, the BU's response to the government's racist and oppressive legislation regarding the natives ranged between total silence and subtle reaction, which implied that encouragement of the government's oppressive legislation.

Following up on the BU's subtle propagation of separate development between the Europeans and the natives through its muted reactions to the government's racist legislation, it was no wonder that the BU, over time, moved from "subtle propagation" to "outright propagation." 1924, in particular, saw the beginning of the BU's outright propagation of separate development between the Europeans and the natives. During the BU Assembly it was resolved: "This Assembly takes note of the efforts being made to locate Natives in special villages under Municipal control, and urges the Government to see that these are kept free from intoxicating liquor of all kinds, and to provide the residents in such villages with suitable buildings and open spaces for recreation, and also to provide that all recognized denominations and workers have free access to these areas on equal terms and conditions."⁶⁹ Clearly, the BU endorsed the government's "special villages" for the natives. All that mattered to the BU was for the Baptist Church of South Africa, like other European-led denominations, to have access to these areas. European denominations were termed "recognized denominations" to distinguish them from the unrecognized ones, that is, the African Initiated Churches (AICs). These AICs were in the eyes of the government and the European churches, in this case the Baptist Church of South Africa, not churches, but sects.⁷⁰

Following on the 1924 BU resolution propagating separate development of the natives away from the Europeans, it is with surprise however, that one reads that in 1925 the BU, during its Assembly, raised "concern" about hostile race relations between the Europeans and the natives:

This Assembly, is concerned at the growing suspicion between the European and Native populations in this country, expresses its conviction that all questions connected with the

⁶⁸ See Chapter 8.

⁶⁹ Minutes of 1924 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 30.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 5, in Volume One.

adjustment of the relationship between the races should be dealt with on non-party lines. Every possible effort should be made to secure the application of Christian principles. The Assembly places on record its conviction that disaster faces us if selfish and racial considerations are allowed to rule in these matters. Only by conference, co-operation, goodwill, and justice can we arrive at a satisfactory and permanent settlement.⁷¹

Like previous resolutions, this resolution leaves a lot to be desired. What is the cause of this suspicion between the Europeans and the natives? This question the BU certainly avoided. Further, what did the BU mean by justice? The latter question is raised against the background that the natives had been dispossessed of their land, and their dignity as human beings (not inferior Others)⁷² had also been undermined. These are the questions, amongst others, that the BU purposely ignored. However, when the BU felt it “directly suffered” from legislation, it did not hesitate to use the strongest terms to defend its missionized territory in particular. For example, during the same Assembly, of 1925, when the BU passed the resolution concerning the growing suspicion between the Europeans and natives, it passed a resolution condemning the government’s interference in its mission work. (152) In the most blatant of terms, it resolved: “The Assembly strongly protests against the references by the Minister of Justice to the Missionary work of the Churches, as being unjustified by fact, and inimical to the general interest in the country.”⁷³ Clearly, the BU was willing to use phrases such as “strongly protests,” when it safeguarded its mission space, over against weaker phrases such as “concerned” when addressing race relations between the Europeans and the natives.

In 1926, again racist laws affecting the natives were discussed by the Assembly, this time under the sub-item titled: “Native Affairs,”⁷⁴ under the item “Public Questions.” This time, the Assembly delegated the response to these laws to its associations. The Assembly resolved “[that it] urges the various Associations affiliated with the Baptist Union of S. Africa to give earnest consideration to the Bills now before the country touching Native affairs, and to take such action as they feel to be necessary after conference with experts on the matters

⁷¹ Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 30.

⁷² See Chapter 4, in Volume One.

⁷³ Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 31.

⁷⁴ See Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 30.

involved.”⁷⁵ These BU associations, which consisted of Europeans, were to consult with experts, also Europeans, on matters concerning the natives without the natives being present. The associations were: The Border Association, the German Association, the Transvaal Baptist Church Council and the Baptist Women’s Association.⁷⁶ This “master attitude”⁷⁷ by the Europeans, which the BU continually demonstrated throughout all phases of its history,⁷⁸ was thus engrained within the BU.

In the following year, 1927, the founding year of the Bantu Baptist Church,⁷⁹ as in the previous year’s Assembly, the Assembly “urged its members to give earnest thought to all questions touching the welfare of the Native people in this country.”⁸⁰ This time, the Assembly mentioned specifically that this “earnest thought” should be given “with a view to Christian treatment of all such questions.”⁸¹ The same Assembly nevertheless had earlier “place[d] on record its appreciation of the action of the Government and certain Municipalities in their endeavours to ameliorate the appalling housing conditions obtaining in most of our larger centres, and urges that continued effort be made to provide adequate housing accommodation for our poorer classes especially, and so to abolish the present deplorable overcrowding.”⁸² This resolution, titled “[The] Housing Problem,” though it sounds concerned for the natives, was however not about them. Instead it was about to the “poor whites.” In BU minutes, the use of “poorer classes,” just as in the political history of South Africa during this period, referred the “poor whites.”⁸³ Therefore, the BU’s resolution was intended to convey appreciation of the government’s efforts to ameliorate the appalling housing conditions of the poorer Europeans (“poorer classes”). It should be remembered that this is the same Assembly that approved the SABMS’s proposal, which was drafted by

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ See BU Executive Report for 1924-1925, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, pp. 5-8.

⁷⁷ See Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 (in Volume One) for a discussion of the nature of the master-servant narrative.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 5, in Volume One.

⁸⁰ Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 39.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ See the following works in particular: Giliomee, H. “‘Wretched folk, ready for any mischief’: the South African state’s battle to incorporate poor whites and militant workers, 1890-1939,” in *Historia*, Volume 47, Issue 2, November 2002, pp. 601-653; Morrell, R. “Aspects of Hawking in the Transkei, 1920-1945,” in *Contree*, Issue 28, October 1990, pp. 10-13; and Lewis, R. A. (1974). *A study of some aspects of the poor white problem in South Africa*. Grahamstown: Rhodes University. [Unpublished MA Dissertation.].

European Superintendents the previous year, for the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church, which was meant to further separately develop the Bantu (natives) under European guidance ("stored experience").⁸⁴ As for the Assembly urging its members to give "earnest thought" to the Christian treatment of the natives, this leaves much for one to wonder about as to what this treatment might mean, given the BU's preference for the separate development of these natives.

This attitude is close to that of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), which is well articulated by Elphick and Davenport in their work.⁸⁵ That is, the Afrikaner's traditional fear of the equalization of black and white "was born from his abhorrence of the idea of racial admixture."⁸⁶ The DRC, therefore, declared unequivocally "that this admixture is undesirable and rejects anything which might lead to such a situation, but does begrudge the native and the Coloured a social status as honourable as he could achieve."⁸⁷ However: "Where the church declares her position against the disregarding of racial and colour differences of whites and blacks in the course of everyday life, she would like to promote social differentiation and spiritual or cultural segregation to the benefit of both sections."⁸⁸

This differentiation was also for the benefit of the "poor whites." As early as 1932, their desperate conditions were an accomplished fact.⁸⁹ Elphick and Davenport further discuss the role of the DRC towards these poor whites. Their analysis of the DRC's response to the government's oppressive legislation against the natives is similar to that of the English churches during this period. That is:

The policy of segregation as advocated by the Afrikaner and his church is the holy calling of the church to see to the thousands of poor whites in the cities who fight a losing battle in the present economic world. This policy will entail the removal of unhealthy slums, the creation

⁸⁴ See Chapter 5, concerning the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church.

⁸⁵ Elphick, R. & Davenport, R. (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ See Jordaan, M. (1991). *The Poor White Problem in South Africa with specific reference to the rural rehabilitation and housing schemes, 1934-1939*. Pretoria: [University of Pretoria]. [Unpublished MA Dissertation.].

of healthy suburbs where a sound Christian family can be developed, the undesired moral conditions can be overcome, and, therefore, as a consequence, a healthy state, nation and church can be developed. The application of segregation will furthermore lead to the creation of separate healthy cities for the non-whites where they will be in a position to develop along their own lives, establish their own institutions and later govern themselves under the guardianship of the whites.⁹⁰

Returning to the discussion on the BU Assembly's race resolutions three years later, in 1930, the BU was still retaining its cautious stance, which according to Jafta, in his discussion of the English churches' response to the segregationist government of South Africa, was "middle of the road."⁹¹ This time, the BU's discussion of native matters was no longer a sub-item under "Public Questions,"⁹² nor was it "Native Affairs," but now the native and his very existence was a question, that is: "The Native Question."⁹³ In political history, the Europeans' preoccupation with the natives was also moving from one category to another. That is, during the time this BU Assembly took place, the discourse in South African politics about the natives was moving from being a "question" (Native Question) to becoming a "problem" (Native Problem). Commenting briefly on the reasons the natives were a "question," Jabavu argued, in 1928, that it was Hertzog who was "rightly recognized as our first politician to urge with constant seriousness the segregation of the Bantu in the Union of South Africa as a solution of what is called the Native question." Jabavu continued: "[Hertzog] suggested many years ago, and had preached it (Native Question) until, on ascending to Parliamentary power, he outlined it in his Smithfield speech of November 13, 1925, and embodied it in his four Bills of 1926 – the Land Amendment Bill, the Native Union Council Bill, the Representative Bill and the Coloured Persons Rights Bill."⁹⁴ Commenting on this, Jabavu wrote, "we wish to submit that the Native is not a question."⁹⁵ Instead, "the question facing the rulers of the country is how to do justice to the Native."⁹⁶ In addition, "the problem that

⁹⁰ Elphick, R. & Davenport, R. (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California, p. 141.

⁹¹ See Unit 6 entitled: Christianity since 1948. In, *Christianity and a Changing South Africa*. 2001. Pretoria: University of South Africa. [A UNISA Study Guide: TIC 306G].

⁹² Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 22.

⁹³ Minutes of 1930 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1913-1931, p. 27.

⁹⁴ Jabavu, D. D. T. (1928). *The Segregation Fallacy and Other Papers*. Alice: Lovedale Institution Press, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

equally confronts the Europeans and the Bantu in the Union of South Africa is that of the readjustment in inter-racial relationships in a manner that will conduce to mutual confidence and universal good will.”⁹⁷

Brookes, five years earlier, 1923, had argued that segregation was unavoidable between the natives and the Europeans. At the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches, he argued that the natives needed the whites. But preceding this argument, Brookes presented the reasons why the Europeans needed the natives. According to Brookes, the natives were needed for “their unskilled service, their patience, [and] their capacity for cheerful labour.”⁹⁸ Clearly for Brookes the “half good service” of the natives constituted the ultimate reason for their existence. Concerning the reasons why the natives need the Europeans, Brookes wrote: “They need our civilization, our agricultural science and machinery, our educational methods, our assistance in learning the difficult lesson of self-government, our vision of morality, [and] our religion.”⁹⁹ In other words, the natives’ existence was totally dependent upon the Europeans. Thus, Brookes further argues that, it is “not without the finger of Providence [that] white and black [have] come together in Southern Africa.”¹⁰⁰ As a result he concluded, in a typical liberal white arrogance, “We want to interweave white and black interests as to make our Native peoples part of the army of a tolerant civilization, holding independent white and black units of culture, moving northwards – not, by cutting them off from our life, to make them the vanguard of a barbarous and retrogressive pan-African movement advancing Southwards.”¹⁰¹

In the 1930 BU resolution on “The Native Question,” the Assembly “expressed its gratification at recent indications that questions affecting the welfare of the Native peoples of South Africa are likely to be the subjects of round-table conferences between the

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Brookes, E. “Segregation as a Fundamental Plank in S.A. Native Policy,” in Federal Council of the D. R. Churches. (1923). *European and Bantu*. Johannesburg: Federal Council of the D. R. Churches, p. 37.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

representatives of those vitally concerned, and earnestly prays that the Divine blessing may rest upon the deliberations of all men of goodwill."¹⁰² The resolution continued:

In view of the probability of such conferences, and recognizing that the details of the Country's Native Policy can be settled only after the most thorough investigation and careful discussion, this Union makes no pronouncement of its views on specific points at the moment, but desires to affirm its conviction that the only basis upon which an equitable and permanently satisfactory settlement of the Native Question can be reached, is the full recognition of the universal Creatorship of God and the consequent brotherhood of man, involving the moral responsibility of more favoured races for the upliftment of those in more backward stages of development.¹⁰³

The more favoured races meant, of course, the Europeans, while those in the backward stages of development were, according to the BU, the natives. This resolution by the BU, though it purported not to be political, was nevertheless political because development, in the colonial frontier, was defined by the Europeans according to their standards and their agenda. This understanding of development relegated to the background anything that had to do with the natives. Further, the same resolution clearly articulates that it was the moral responsibility of the Europeans, that is "the more favoured races," to uplift the natives. Therefore, whatever the Europeans decided and put into practice concerning the natives was after all, their "moral responsibility," within "the universal Creatorship of God." It was this understanding of the Europeans' responsibility towards the natives that permeated Baptist history and justified the formation of separate native bodies for the "development" of the native Baptists: The South African Baptist Missionary Society (SABMS) formed in 1892,¹⁰⁴ the Native Baptist Church Councils (NBCC) formed in 1923, the Bantu Baptist Church (BBC) formed in 1927,¹⁰⁵ and the South African Bantu Baptist Women's Association (SABBWA), formed in 1946.

With this kind of perception (that is, the natives backward and the Europeans favoured), becoming more explicit among the Europeans within the Baptist Church of South Africa, it is

¹⁰² Minutes of 1930 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1913-1931, p. 27.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 4, in Volume One.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 5, in Volume One.

however not surprising that the following year, 1931, the BU voiced its concern with racial tension between the Europeans and the natives. That is, while acknowledging the “intensification of racialism among the Europeans,” the SABMS nevertheless wrote the following:

The prevalence of racialism ought not to surprise us greatly, when we recall the history of our country. In the first decade of our Society’s existence the land was convulsed by the Anglo-Boer war, upsetting our work a good deal. In the second decade European thought was concentrated on political readjustments leading to union. In the third decade the Great War impressed the idea of antagonism afresh, and in the fourth decade there has been such intensification of racialism amongst the Europeans that we cannot wonder that the Bantu should follow suit. This may eventually work out for the furtherance of the gospel, but we feel the real danger that in shaking off White control before they have benefited by its discipline, the character of the Native Church may be gravely imperiled.¹⁰⁶

In other words, white control in the Baptist Church of South Africa should by all means be secured and should not be shaken off until the “Bantu have benefited by its discipline.” This argument is no different from that in the political sphere that also argues that white control over the country should be secured by all means, including even the use of force. In any case, the “intensification of racialism” in the country, to the BU presented an opportunity “for the furtherance of the gospel.” In other words, the cause of “racialism” amongst the Europeans, which caused the Bantu to “follow suit,” was not the point of concern for the SABMS. In the same *Report*, were other statements also reflecting on the nature of the black-white relations in South Africa. Firstly, the SABMS Committee while reporting on its work in the Eastern Cape, also recorded “the frequent conflicts with the Bantu people over possession of the land, [which involved the] ebb and flow of the opposing forces of civilization and barbarism before peace was at last secured.”¹⁰⁷ In other words,¹⁰⁸ the dispute over the land – one of the sites of struggle against racism in the colonial frontier, an orchestrated dispossession to create a dependent native population - was according to the SABMS, a fight by civilization (Europeans) against barbarism (natives). Secondly, in the same *Report*, the SABMS

¹⁰⁶ SABMS Annual Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter 8.

commented, in a rather concerned tone, that Christianity was perceived to be “the White Man’s Religion.”¹⁰⁹ Given the SABMS’s undoubtedly long history of support for separate development between the natives and the Europeans, it could not respond except to state: “we are also watching the continual impact of what is felt to be the White Man’s Religion on the Native mind.”¹¹⁰ In the light of the BU’s (and SABMS’s) lack of response or cautious response to the government’s racist legislation against the natives, it is no wonder that Christianity was perceived to be a white man’s religion.

The same year (1931) however, contrary to the tone of the *SABMS Report* of the same year, during the BU Assembly the BU showed signs of feeling pressure to be more vocal against the government’s racist legislation. Introducing its resolution, the BU wrote “as an integral part of the Baptist World Alliance, which is the federation of the Churches of one of the largest denominations in the world, doing Christian work in more countries of the world than any other denomination,”¹¹¹ and continued: “[The BU] begs respectfully to urge upon the Government of this country, towards which the eyes of so many other lands are turned, the necessity of absolutely fair treatment of the native peoples in all legal enactments touching their affairs.”¹¹² More forthright than ever before, the resolution continued: “[The BU] fear that the tendency to repressive legislation and oppressive taxation is increasing, and contends that this is fundamentally unjust and cannot continue with impunity and without recoil upon the white peoples of the country.”¹¹³ Thus:

The Baptist Union ... protests against any injustice to the peoples whose rights as men and women are the same as those of the more favoured races, and whose well-being and development concern the whole community, especially the part of the community which calls itself Christian.¹¹⁴

This was so far the clearest statement by the BU criticizing the government’s racist legislations. The statement, however, falls short of naming those people “whose rights as

¹⁰⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1930-1931, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 10.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Minutes of 1931 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1931-1932, p. 30.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

men and women” ought to be the same as those of more favoured races. Though the BU’s statement was the most forthright yet, there was still a sense of cautiousness so as not to offend to the European-led government, whose protection the Europeans in the BU still enjoyed. Was this the beginning of the BU itself becoming forthright, or was this statement merely uttered as a result of the pressure from the Baptist World Alliance? This will be seen as the BU’s history unfolds.

3. South African natives enjoy better benefits under Europeans (1932-1937)!

In 1932, once again, the BU minutes record the Assembly’s awareness of the injustices done towards the natives by the South African government. Unlike the previous Assemblies’ resolutions, this time the resolution was preceded by a clearly marked preamble, which was intended to convey the BU’s “sympathy” towards the natives. It read: “For many years the native peoples of South Africa have done their part towards providing the necessary labour of the Country, and in so doing have served the interests of the whole community; now it has been decided, simply because they are Natives, that the opportunity of earning a livelihood be denied them and their places be taken by Europeans.”¹¹⁵ About this state of affairs, the Assembly resolved: “That this Assembly of Baptists, who have stood all through their history for civil and religious liberty and equity, expresses its strong indignation at the Government’s apparent policy of repression towards the Native Peoples, especially in the matter of replacing native labour by European labour where natives have for so long have done the necessary work faithfully and well, and earnestly protests against a flagrant injustice.”¹¹⁶

The resolution, as it reads, gives the impression that the BU had an unwavering concern for the welfare of the natives. This however, can be challenged in the light of the following: Firstly, while the BU in the preamble stated that the natives are “providing the necessary labour for the country,” it behaved as if it were ignorant of the conditions under which these natives provided the labour. This is the same kind of ignorant attitude that its missionary body, the SABMS showed while reporting that the native ministers did “good” work in the

¹¹⁵ Minutes of 1932 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1932-1933, p. 32.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

mission fields, yet avoided, as much as possible concerning itself with the living and working conditions under which they toiled.¹¹⁷ Secondly, while the BU was “indignant” at the government’s policy to replace native labour by European, it should not be forgotten that this is the same BU which in 1927 had urged the government to assist the poorer European classes, specifically. What the government was now doing was to remove the semi-skilled natives from their semi-skilled jobs and to replace them with unskilled Europeans, during this period of the great depression.¹¹⁸

Accompanying the replacement of the native labour was the massive relocation of the natives into the reserves, which were also referred to as the labour reserves.¹¹⁹ For natives to be elsewhere, they had to have good reasons particularly if they were found in towns, where the hub of South Africa’s economy was. One such reserve that was created by the South African government during this period was the Orlando Township, on the outskirts of Johannesburg. The SABMS Executive, expressing its excitement at the missionary opportunity that this reserve presented, wrote:

A very promising development is that in the new Orlando Township on the outskirts of Johannesburg. The whole scheme, which is to house 80,000, represents the last word in town planning for natives. Provision is being made for religious, intellectual, recreational and domestic needs on a generous scale. One of the best sites has been allotted to our Society upon which we propose to start building as soon as plans can be prepared. A loan from the Missionary Trust Funds will enable us to build a Church worthy of the Township, and we have every hope of opening the first Church in Orlando Township. We are grateful to Mr. A. Law Palmer, the Northern Committee and other local friends for their foresight and interest in securing so favourable an opening.¹²⁰

Clearly, when one reads this quotation, the SABMS unequivocally supported the separate development of the natives. The same year, 1933, during its Assembly, while the SABMS on the one hand expressed excitement at the missionary opportunity Orlando Township presented, on the other hand, its parent body, the BU, expressed abhorrence at the

¹¹⁷ See Chapters 6 and Chapter 8.

¹¹⁸ See Davenport, T. R. H. (1987). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 302-307.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 8.

¹²⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1932-1933, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 14.

government's racist legislation. This time, the Assembly resolved, similarly to the 1931 resolution, that it "deplores the increasing restriction of avenues of employment of Natives, and affirms its conviction that a policy of selfishness and fear on the part of the white races of this country will issue not only in injustice to, and repression of, the Native races, but will react upon themselves to their detriment and undoing."¹²¹ Such a resolution communicated, as with other resolutions, the BU's lesser concern with the working conditions under which the natives laboured. Contrary to this, when it came to the working conditions of the Europeans the BU was vocal and direct. During the BU Assembly of 1934, under the item: "Public Questions," in the sub-item "Unemployment," the Assembly, while "viewing with deep concern the unemployment still rife in our country,"¹²² added that, "[it] respectfully requests the Government through the Minister of Labour to take into earnest consideration the amelioration of the conditions under which Relief Workers are employed, particularly in respect of the daily remuneration and hours of labour of such workers."¹²³ Clearly, which workers were being referred to, not black ones. When the BU passed a resolution concerning a particular issue, and never mentioned a particular race, it could be assumed that such a race was European, as noted above.

Again during the Assembly of 1933, like the Assembly of 1931, the BU expressed opposition to the government's racist legislation: this time, the Native Poll Tax. The Assembly submitted that this tax "bears oppressively upon many Natives, and further that it introduces into Native legislation the principle of flat rate taxation which discriminates against the Native peoples."¹²⁴ The resolution continued: "We believe that the vast majority of the Natives in the Union [of S.A.] are law abiding, that they recognize the meaning and necessity of taxation within their means. By the pressure of the Poll Tax, however, many such law abiding Natives are brought to their first experience of prison."¹²⁵ According to Rheinallt-Jones, by 1935, "60,000 native convictions were secured annually under the Taxation Act,"¹²⁶ as a result of their inability to comply. The Assembly thus concluded: "The Poll Tax

¹²¹ Minutes of 1933 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1933-1934, p. 27.

¹²² Minutes of 1934 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 33.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Minutes of 1934 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 37.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ See Chapter 8.

cannot be justified on any moral or economic grounds, and we urge its immediate replacement by some more equitable and just means of raising revenue for Native services.”¹²⁷ Further, there is no doubt that this Poll Tax affected the native Christians’ monetary contributions to the running of their churches, which in turn made contributions to the SABMS. The European missionaries even acknowledged that poor economic conditions affected the native Christians’ financial contributions to running “their” churches and maintaining “their” ministers.¹²⁸ Reflecting on the meagre living wages of the natives during this period, Rev Eriksson, Superintendent of the Transvaal field, wrote: “The maximum wage of 5/- [shillings] per month [is what the natives received, with], many receiving only food for their labour.”¹²⁹ As a result, “In such conditions the prospects of Churches supporting themselves are remote.”¹³⁰

The following year, 1935, no copies of resolutions regarding native questions were documented since the BU minutes only recorded: “Resolutions on the undermentioned subjects were passed and copies sent to the Churches, Government departments, and other bodies concerned ... [On] Native questions [these were] (Poll Tax, Native Bills, etc).”¹³¹ Two years later, in 1937, when the BU Executive reported that a new committee: the Moral and Social Welfare Committee, was to replace the Temperance Committee, it added: “On behalf of the Denomination a protest was sent to the Government against the way Native legislation was being rushed through parliament without fair consideration of Native representations.”¹³² The new committee urged the churches “[to] take earnest and sympathetic interest in Native affairs, especially continuing the protest against the inequitable Poll Tax.”¹³³ The SABMS, in the same year (1937), continuing along the same lines as before, that is, advocating European guidance of the natives wrote, “[that] while it is true that some of the Bantu and Indians around us enjoy many blessings and live under conditions

¹²⁷ Minutes of 1934 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 37.

¹²⁸ See earlier discussion in this chapter.

¹²⁹ SABMS Annual Report for 1933-1934, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 14. See also Chapter 8, containing a discussion that the same natives received no remuneration at all, let alone food, for according to the white farm owners, the costs of staying on the Europeans’ farms were compensated for by the natives’ labour.

¹³⁰ SABMS Annual Report for 1933-1934, in BU Handbook for 1934-1935, p. 14.

¹³¹ Minutes of 1935 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1935-1936, p. 57.

¹³² BU Executive Report for 1936-1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 11.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

much better than those in other parts of Africa, the spiritual need is just as great as it is anywhere and everywhere else.”¹³⁴ In other words, according to the SABMS, in spite of oppressive legislation such as the Poll Tax, on the one hand, and the miserable living conditions the natives in reserves were subjected to, on the other hand, the natives in South Africa were still better off than Africans elsewhere.

Given this comment by the SABMS, which also reflected the BU’s view of the native and the nature of race relations in the Baptist Church of South Africa, the BU’s criticism of the this Native Poll Tax was nothing but a façade. Concluding the BU’s criticism of the this Poll Tax – a continued façade - the resolution read: “That this Assembly strongly protests against the Native Poll Tax and urges its repeal. Furthermore, this Assembly earnestly appeals to the Government to abolish the penalty of imprisonment for the non-payment of the poll-tax pending the introduction of more equitable taxation.”¹³⁵ Was this façade to continue beyond 1937? This is to be seen below. Summarizing this period (1932-1937), the BU’s responses to the government’s oppressive legislation against the natives were merely responses of convenience, so that as a church, they might be perceived to have responded to the government’s oppressive legislation. This is the reason why the BU never had problems with government’s native reserves, which in its view provided opportunities for mission. Further, the BU saw the Europeans’ supervision, whether religious or political, of the natives as divine providence.

4. Native conditions are the government’s responsibility (1938-1948)

Following the 1937 call to the churches to protest against the Native Poll Tax, in 1939, again during the BU Assembly, the Assembly “commend[ed] the action of the Government in its intention to mitigate the hardship to which the Native is subjected in matters relative to the General (or Poll) Tax.”¹³⁶ Two years later, 1941, while the Assembly “express[ed] its

¹³⁴ SABMS Annual Report for 1936-1937, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 24.

¹³⁵ Minutes of 1937 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1937-1938, p. 70. About this resolution: “On the proposition of Rev H. Guyton Thomas it was agreed that resolutions prepared for submission to the Union Government be sent also to the Government of Southern Rhodesia in so far as they apply to conditions in that country.” (Ibid.).

¹³⁶ Minutes of 1939 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1939-1940, p. 77.

appreciation of the Government's resolve to administrate for the social and economic welfare of all classes and races in the Union to ensure a better standard of living,"¹³⁷ it further "urge[d] the government to assist the native peoples by firstly, providing an "extension of educational facilities,"¹³⁸ and, "By abolishing the Poll Tax for a more equitable form of taxation."¹³⁹ And lastly, "Using as soon as possible the information gained through the Commission of enquiry into the health and social conditions of natives in urban areas, to legislate for a higher standard of living."¹⁴⁰ These resolutions were recorded under the heading entitled: "Concerning Native Affairs."¹⁴¹

The same BU Assembly passed a resolution concerning European workers. This was in contrast to its perception of the natives. This resolution was titled: "Concerning Unemployment and Health Insurance."¹⁴² Under it, the Assembly resolved, after receiving a submission from the Moral and Social Welfare Committee,¹⁴³ that it was "urging the [government to consider] compulsory application of the Unemployment Insurance Act to all [European] workers, including men and women on active service, also to bring into operation the adjourned measures for National Health Insurance in order that resources might be built up to meet post war needs."¹⁴⁴ Resolutions such as this one, as argued before, which stressed concern for "all workers" and their working conditions, were not racially inclusive, though reading them in BU minutes gives this impression. It ought to be remembered that a Europeans-only BU Assembly communicated these resolutions to a Europeans-only government. Therefore, in speaking about matters that had to do with the European race, they did not have to qualify the race under discussion. This was after all, the prime agenda of the government. It was only when issues under discussion did not concern the Europeans, that the BU clearly stated that these were about "native affairs." Further, issues that had to do with natives, including their working conditions, the BU clearly marked with a heading that

¹³⁷ Minutes of 1941 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1941-1942, p. 63.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁴³ BU Executive Report for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 8. In 1942, this committee consisted of: Rev F. Oldrieve, chairman; Rev B. Howes-Howell, secretary; Revs W. J. Buchanan, D. Matthews, G. Philp (sic) and D. T. Wright; Mrs F. W. Hutchinson, Mrs G. Philp (sic); and Mr J. G. Birch.

¹⁴⁴ BU Executive Report for 1941-1942, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 8.

made this clear. Indeed, given the preceding discussion, merely to entertain the thought of the native people receiving unemployment and health insurances would have been a luxury during this historical period.

In 1942, even though the Assembly never passed a resolution specifically on matters concerning the government's oppressive legislation against the natives, an interesting resolution was passed under the item, "Social Conditions," which further highlights the continued attitude of the BU to race matters, interwoven with its Christian stance. That is, the Assembly "[felt] impelled in view of the critical times in which we live, to call the attention of all Christian men and women to the fact that a clause in the Revised Constitution of the Union of South Africa reads – 'The people of South Africa acknowledge the sovereignty and guidance of Almighty God.'"¹⁴⁵ Regarding this, the Assembly "consider[ed] that the applications of such a statement should receive the most careful consideration of all Christians in the Union."¹⁴⁶ (It is worrying that this was the only part of the Constitution of the Union of South Africa that the BU was willing to comment on.) Thus the Assembly resolved:

This Assembly gives its considered opinion that there is very much un-Christian in the life of every section of the community, and is profoundly dissatisfied with many of the conditions in which large numbers of the community have to live. The Assembly affirms that God has a plan for the world, including South Africa, and that this plan has in view the happiness and prosperity of every individual irrespective of race and colour. The Assembly does believe that this is not the will of God that poverty, ignorance and disease should be prevalent.¹⁴⁷

Remarkably, once again, as was the case with some previous years' resolutions, the resolution failed to be explicit as to, the race that had "large numbers of the community" living under the unsatisfactory conditions. As in years past, the Assembly once again adopted a cautious stance. Further, while the Assembly articulated that God has a "plan for the world, including South Africa," that every individual irrespective of race and colour should experience happiness and prosperity, this was a problematic statement uttered by the very BU

¹⁴⁵ Minutes of 1942 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1942-1943, p. 70.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 71.

who through the SABMS cared little about the welfare and living conditions of the native ministers,¹⁴⁸ which were according to the SABMS, “under its care.”

Continuing with the same resolution, the Assembly further resolved “[that it] appeals to every Christian man and woman to consider how the eternal principles of Christian justice can be applied in the political, economic and social spheres in the many different communities in the Union, and that every effort should be made to put these principles into action in everyday life, and National policy, and that plans ought to be prepared with this end in view.”¹⁴⁹ In concluding this resolution, the Assembly “commend[ed] to the prayerful and careful consideration of all in our Churches the ‘Findings and Resolution’ passed at the Conference on ‘Christian Reconstruction in South Africa’ held at Fort Hare in July 1942.”¹⁵⁰ What the BU was doing was shifting the public questions, including the roles of Christians in it, from the public debate to individuals’ personal responses to them.

De Gruchy, writing about this conference at Fort Hare, which was convened by the Christian Council of South Africa, wrote that its purpose was to “discuss the task of the churches in ‘Christian Reconstruction’ after the Second World War.”¹⁵¹ He further wrote: “There was hope in the air, at least among liberal English-speaking and more moderate black Christians, that a concerted effort to build a more just South Africa would follow the war. Instead there came a new era of Afrikaner nationalist domination and the beginning of apartheid.”¹⁵² Ecumenical relations between the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches did not develop after the war. In 1947, however these churches established the first ecumenical faculty of divinity in the country, at Rhodes University. And when the government insisted that it enroll whites only, the churches acquiesced.¹⁵³

The individualization of public questions and leaving them to the individual’s will was, according to Kretzschmar, characteristic of the Baptist faith as “private faith,” or privatized

¹⁴⁸ See Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ De Gruchy, J. W. “Grappling with a Colonial Heritage: The English speaking Churches under Imperialism and Apartheid,” in Elphick, R. & Davenport, R. (1997). *Op. Cit.*, p. 158.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

gospel. That is, it “appear[ed] that within the Baptist Union, there is lack of consciousness of the influence of one’s context on one’s theology.”¹⁵⁴ Further, this

privatized view [is] primarily concerned with the relationship between individuals or the individual souls and God. It does not adequately reflect a concern for the whole person, inter-human relationships, interaction between social groups and creation itself. It certainly has little, if any, to say concerning mission as genuine partnership between Baptists of different races, or about mission as social transformation. It is primarily, if not exclusively, a white vision and it fails to take into account the historical ... South African context.¹⁵⁵

Following the BU’s participation with other denominations in the conference at Fort Hare, in 1942, the following year, the “Assembly had the privilege of listening to a most informative address on the Churches and Race Relations, by Ex-Senator J. D. Rheinallt-Jones, advisor to the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, of which the Assembly decided that the Union should become a member.”¹⁵⁶ Given the views of Rheinallt-Jones, on the Native Land Act,¹⁵⁷ there is no doubt that the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, of which he was an advisor and later the director, upheld these liberal tendencies.¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, during the same Assembly, “A further resolution urged the Executive to give earnest thought to matters pertaining to post-war conditions, and to consider the advisability of becoming affiliated with the Christian Council of South Africa.”¹⁵⁹

While the Second World War still ensuing, when the Assembly sat in October 1944, “[it] first express[ed] appreciation of the Government’s efforts to provide housing for returning soldiers and their families, but urging that the release of building materials for this purpose shall be expedited as much as possible.”¹⁶⁰ Even though there were blacks that had fought in this war, the provision of the housing for which the BU commended the government, was for

¹⁵⁴ Kretzschmar, L. (1998). *Privatization of the Christian Faith ... South African Baptists*. Ghana: Legon Theological Series, p. 75.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁵⁶ Minutes of 1943 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 79.

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter 8.

¹⁵⁸ See also Rich, P. B. (1993). *Hope and Despair: English-Speaking Intellectuals and South African Politics 1896-1876*. London: British Academic Press, pp. 30, 32, and 34.

¹⁵⁹ Minutes of 1943 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1943-1944, p. 80.

¹⁶⁰ Minutes of 1944 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, pp. 74-75.

European soldiers.¹⁶¹ All observable is that, when the BU Assembly complemented the South African government on some civil duty that it carried out, the BU never mentioned a specific race that benefited from such. When the BU did this, the race that benefited from the government's public services was the European one. Furthermore, during the same Assembly, what comes to the fore was that BU was now adopting another strategy in commending the government's civil duties to its citizens. This time, the BU behaved as if it were not aware of or like the government, camouflaged, the racial differentiation underlining the government's conveying the public benefits to its citizens. The resolution about this matter in question read: "The Assembly is expressing appreciation of the Government's purpose to secure social security of all classes irrespective of race or colour, and urging that such purpose be pressed forward with all possible speed."¹⁶² This resolution was passed at the same Assembly that the BU received the report on the Missionary Survey¹⁶³ on the SABMS mission fields, in particular on the poor working and living conditions of its native workers.

Following the 1944 resolution, it would be only three years later that the BU would pass another resolution in response to the government's attitude towards the natives. During the 1947 BU Assembly, under the sub-item "Native Laws Commission of Enquiry,"¹⁶⁴ the Assembly passed a resolution, stating that it "wishe[d] to place on record its sincere appreciation of the efforts the Government of the Union of South Africa is making towards

¹⁶¹ See in particular the following articles by Grundlingh, whose discussion covers aspects such as: blacks who travelled and experienced the larger world, their hopes and expectations were raised to the extent that the natives who participated in WWII military service soon grew disillusioned and returned to their rural home areas following demobilization. See: Grundlingh, L. "Soldiers and Politics: A study of the political consciousness of Black South African soldiers during and after the Second World War," in *Historia*, Volume 36, Number 2, 1991, pp. 55-66; "Aspects of the impact of the Second World War on the lives of Black South African and British Colonial soldiers," in *Transafrican Journal of History*, Volume 21, 1992, pp. 19-35. In his another work: ("Non-Europeans should be kept away from the temptations of town: Controlling Black South African Soldiers during the Second World War," in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Volume 25, Number 3, 1992, pp. 539-560), Grundlingh argues that with approximately 76,000 black soldiers who served in the South African Union Defense Forces in WWII, the South African government was worried that this service, especially when it was outside the country, would infect black soldiers with a taste for greater racial equality. Mohlamme, however, disputes Grundlingh's figure, and argues that these soldiers numbered 280 479, and that they served in four Native Military Guards in Africa, Madagascar and Italy, again in a non-combatant capacity (See Mohlamme, J. S. "Soldiers without reward: Africans in South Africa's wars," in *Military History Journal*, Volume 10, Issue 1, June 1995, pp. 33-37.).

¹⁶² Minutes of 1944 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1944-1945, p. 75.

¹⁶³ See Chapter 8.

¹⁶⁴ Minutes of 1947 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1947-1948, p. 94.

seeking a just solution of the problems relating to the non-European peoples of South Africa.”¹⁶⁵ Clearly, the natives were no longer merely a question (the Question) but that their very existence (in the country) constituted a major problem. In passing this resolution, which should no longer surprise one in terms of the BU’s demeaning perceptions of the natives, the same Assembly explicitly referred to the natives as the “child races.” According to the minutes, when the Assembly passed the resolution on “problems relating to the European people,” it added, “At the same time the Assembly earnestly requests the responsible authorities ... to protect the child races of this land from the ravages of the strong drink.”¹⁶⁶ Not only this, the child races were also termed the “needy people”: the Assembly requested “the responsible authorities to encourage these needy peoples to improve their community, by providing more ample means of training them in the useful arts and crafts by which they will build up their own civilization in the vast and ample areas that have been allotted to them.”¹⁶⁷

This resolution was a slap in the face for the natives. Furthermore, it was untruthful for the BU to mention that the natives had been allotted “vast and ample areas.” This is the same BU that knew as early as 1913 that the European government had purposely dispossessed the natives of their land. That is, the natives, though the majority of the citizens, were placed (displaced) onto 13% of the land, while the Europeans, who were the minority, were placed on 87% of the land.¹⁶⁸ Further, the same resolution, following on earlier ones, further indicates the BU’s support of the government’s propagation of separate development between the natives and the Europeans. Given that the natives were dispossessed of their land, their subsistence economy eroded and that they were forced to participate in the “pound economy,”¹⁶⁹ the BU again refused, which was already a pattern in its history, to entertain the thought as to what turned the natives into “needy people.” Further, even though the natives had had their own arts and crafts, years before the Europeans’ settlement in the colony, these were according to the BU, not “useful.” Thus, without hesitation, the BU urged the responsible authorities, the government, to provide ample means to train the natives in the

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter 8.

¹⁶⁹ See Chapter 2, in Volume One.

“useful arts and crafts.” By so doing, according to the BU, the government would be helping the natives to build up their own civilization. And, the definition “useful” is useful by European standards, of course!

Underlining the BU’s notion of civilization was that the natives were not civilized as long as their development did not follow European standards. Even though there is no doubt that the natives had a civilization long before their encounter with the Europeans, and were continuing to practice some of their civilized methods even after their first encounter with the Europeans, their civilization was, according to the Europeans (including those in the BU), not civilization. This further explains the audacity of the European-only BU Assembly in referring to the natives as the “child races.” This infantilization of the natives, which was prevalent since the earliest encounter of the Europeans with the natives,¹⁷⁰ was still practised by the Europeans centuries later. It is further disturbing, that at this particular time of the country’s history, that is, a year before the inception of apartheid, the BU passed such a resolution loaded with demeaning phrases about the natives. Maybe this should not come as a surprise, given the BU’s history towards the natives. This means therefore, that the BU’s demeaning description of the natives and their way of life at such a time in the political history of South Africa, was not a coincidence. Clearly, the BU was buying into the political hegemony of the country. Again, as observed with the passing of the Land Act of 1913, the year before, 1912, the BU, in a very aggressive manner, ensured that it registered most of its lands, including those in the native reserves. Clearly once again, this time, 1947, the BU was repositioning itself in the face of the impending formal introduction of apartheid.

Given this attitude by the BU towards the natives during the 1947 Assembly, it is not surprising that during the 1948 Assembly, held in October 7th-12th, four months after the Nationalist Victory on 12th May,¹⁷¹ the BU once again presented a sympathetic attitude towards the natives. This attitude, though similar to that of the previous assemblies, was in a number of ways, also remarkably different, as will be later discussed. The following resolution reflected this attitude. The first part of the resolution read:

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, in Volume One.

¹⁷¹ See Davenport, T. R. H. (1989). *South African: A Modern History*. Hong Kong: Southern Book Publishers, p. 353.

The Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa and the South African Baptist Missionary Society, comprising Churches of several European and non-European races, and as a body owing allegiance to no particular political party, deeply regrets any aspects of the Government's policy which may involve social and economic injustice and the breaking of solemn pledges to the non-European people of the Union [of South Africa].¹⁷²

This resolution gives the impression that attendance at the BU Assembly of 1948 included representation from the non-European races, in particular the natives. However, this was not the case. This resolution represented the first time in the history of the BU's response to the government's oppressive legislation, that the BU mentioned that its Assembly "compris[ed] Churches of several European and non-European races." On the contrary, it was the SABMS Committee that "represented" the natives in the BU assemblies. This committee, as always, consisted of only Europeans. Further, only the European missionaries at this period were permitted to chair the Bantu Baptist Church's regional councils. Thus, the European missionaries, who arguably "represented" the natives during the BU assemblies, chaired the native churches' regional councils and as chairpersons had the power to veto the decisions of these councils:¹⁷³ therefore it was only their voices that were heard from the regional councils, in the SABMS Executive and in the BU Assembly. These European voices, in a European-only BU Assembly, arguably spoke on behalf of the natives. In brief, the Europeans saw themselves as knowing what was best for the natives.

In this resolution, the BU Assembly, also for the first time, unlike previous resolutions, mentioned that it "ow[ed] allegiance to no particular political party." This statement should not give the impression that the BU was apolitical. On the contrary, the BU's apparently apolitical stance was clearly political. Even though it did not take a particular party's position, its pronouncements were no different from the government's practices of the day. But more particularly, its pronouncements bore close similarities to the ideologies of the English liberal kind.

¹⁷² Minutes of 1948 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 98.

¹⁷³ See Chapter 5, in Volume One.

In brief, about South African liberalism¹⁷⁴ it originated "amongst small circles of missionaries, educationalists and philanthropists [in their] tradition of paternal concern, or rescue, and welfare work to alleviate the hardships of city life. Much of the ethos of this concern was Victorian in conception, since the main impetus for the South African liberal tradition prior to the establishment of the Union in 1910 had come from the nineteenth-century Cape."¹⁷⁵ These liberals were, according to Legassick, "agents of social control and the entrenchment of racial segregation,"¹⁷⁶ though they lacked from the start "a collective middle-class base to which they could appeal in philanthropic and welfare terms, like their equivalents in Victorian and Edwardian England."¹⁷⁷ As the logic of segregationism advanced, according to Rich, the ideological and political base for such welfarism became eroded in South Africa, as the direction for social welfare and subsistence for Africans increasingly pointed to the economies in the reserves. Thus, whilst seeking to mediate the obvious contradictions thrown up by the reality of black poverty and social breakdown in the burgeoning slums in South African towns and cities, the South African liberals and welfare workers were forced to confront the dominant segregationist tenets that implied a process of the enforced rustification and movement of Africans as far as possible back to the rural reserves.¹⁷⁸

What were termed "Joint Councils" presented the "African intelligentsia [with] the political advantages of working through institutions that afforded direct contact with white liberals

¹⁷⁴ Rich, P. B. (1984). *White Power and the liberal conscience: Racial Segregation and South African liberalism*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, pp. 2-3, presents an interesting argument that South African liberalism was not confined to the English and the emerging black intellectuals and the political elite, but that it also included the Afrikaners. For example, leading proponents among the Afrikaners were: Onze Jan Hofmeyr, "an early Afrikaner nationalist" in the Cape who championed a bilingual policy which was by no means intolerant towards the use of English, and Laurens van der Post who in some degree was estranged from his Afrikaner background by his adopting the identity of an English-speaking writer in South Africa, especially as this became combined with a critical attitude towards the entrenchment of apartheid.

¹⁷⁵ Rich, P. B. 1984. *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Rich, P. B. ("*White Power ... liberalism.*," p. 4.) further adds: "One of the earliest uses of the concept of 'territorial segregation' was by the Cape liberal, Richard Rose-Innes, a member of a prominent Cape legal family, who linked it to the establishment of reserves for Africans as 'reservoirs of labour.' The model from which this accrued was the Glen Grey Act of Rhodes, and Rose-Innes established a continuity of Cape liberal thinking with the wider debate of segregation as part of a Union 'native policy' which took place after the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902, under the hegemony of the Milnerite 'conquest state' in the Transvaal."

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

and government, academic and commission representatives.”¹⁷⁹ For example, “the establishment of the Johannesburg Joint Council did offer some such avenues of [upward career] mobility, and Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, for instance, championed African membership on the Native Affairs Commission in 1920.”¹⁸⁰ Further, these Joint Councils “provided invaluable assistance to many African leaders whose education had often ill-equipped them to scrutinize complex government legislation.”¹⁸¹

In the initial stages of optimism in 1921, the Joint Councils were probably seen by many African leaders as complementing this “process of representation,”¹⁸² though in later years “they became the last bastions in a general process of declining political influence by the time of the legislation of 1936,”¹⁸³ that is, the Native’s Trust and Land Act of 1936.

Rich, in another work,¹⁸⁴ commenting on black intellectuals such as Jabavu, in particular, wrote: “he was a strong exponent of Cape liberal ideas and a passionate defender of the colour blind franchise threatened by the proposed legislation of the Pact Government of J.B. M. Hertzog.”¹⁸⁵ Continuing, Rich added: “The development of an articulate black intellectual opposition to the claims of the hereditarians helped to buttress the opposition of the white liberal establishment to the continuing trajectory of segregation in South Africa.”¹⁸⁶ Concerning Jabavu, Rich commented:

... [he] became a member of the South African Institute of Race Relations and during the 1930s many white liberals established much closer ties and connections with members of the black political and educational elite. This black liberal opposition represented a generation of what Shingler has termed African educational modernizers who avoided nationalist ideals in favour of remodeling African society around norms of Christianity and industry and the creation of a black assimilationist elite. Not all black leaders in South Africa unanimously accepted such goals, but the black input into the education debate proved important for the

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. See earlier discussion wherein I referred to Jabavu as a black liberal. See also Denis, P. 1999. *Op. Cit.*, p. 22, for more discussion regarding these councils.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 21

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ See Rich, P. B. 1993. *Op. Cit.*

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

emerging group of white liberal critics of segregation in the early 1930s who were anxious to shift the debate from race towards cultural attributes. Black leaders and intellectuals, however, still remained junior partners to white liberals in this enterprise in the 1930s. ... Many [white] liberals saw themselves cultural intermediaries between what they termed "Western civilization" and a proletarianizing black African society.¹⁸⁷

The second part of the BU's "Race Relations" resolution added, "[the] Assembly condemns any tampering with the accepted Constitutional understanding that the franchise rights of the non-Europeans will continue to be entrenched as provided in the South Africa Act."¹⁸⁸ Which non-European franchise rights were entrenched in the Act? Surely this statement by the BU was inaccurate. On the contrary, the "franchise rights" of the non-Europeans, in particular the natives, were to be curtailed under the subsequent apartheid laws from 1948 onwards. Their lives were made more miserable than ever before. Given the miserable conditions and oppressive legislation to which the natives were to be further subjected, it is not surprising to read, that the Assembly was to conclude this session with the following words, as the last part of the 1948 "Race Resolution": "[the Assembly] is gravely concerned at the rising tide of bitterness, and resentment, non co-operation and hatred which is evident among those people [again no direct mention of the Africans] concerned by any suggestion of the limitation of their existing rights and legitimate aspirations and the Assembly resolutely disassociates itself from any policy which would restrict or reduce the present rights of representation in Parliament or Senate of any section of the Community."¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁸⁸ Minutes of 1948 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, p. 98.

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